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THE LIVES OF THE KINGS

EDITED BY CHARLES WHIBLEY

THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE VIII

VOL. I

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HENRY VIII

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THE LIVES OF THE KINGS

HENRY VIII

BY EDWARD HALL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CHARLES WHIBLEY

VOLUME I

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INTRODUCTION

EDWARD HALL, the eloquent panegyrist of Henry VIII., was born in London towards the end of the fifteenth century. His parents,[1] of gentle birth and affluent circumstances, gave their son the best education that the time afforded, and from Eton he proceeded, in 1514, to King's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in due course. In the spurious edition of Wood's *Athenæ* it is claimed that he also studied at Oxford, but there is no evidence that he visited the other University, and the credit of his nurture is due to Cambridge alone. After leaving Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn, where he speedily became eminent in the practice of the law. John Bale praises his eloquence and erudition, as well he might, since they were of the same side both in politics and theology. 'Edvuardus Hallus,' says the historian of English writers, 'politioribus a tenera aetate literis adornatus, 'ex longo Brytannicarum legum studio, peritissimus evasit.' Nor did his industry and learning go without their reward. In 1532 he was appointed Common Serjeant of the City of London, and presently became a judge in the Sheriff's Court. Though, like many a greater man than himself, he has baffled the biographer, his name occurs now and again in the

[1] His father was John Hall, of Northall, in Shropshire, while his mother was Catherine, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Gedding. Herbert, quoted in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, gives him an august ancestry. 'These Halles,' says he, 'were of Kinnersley and Northall, in the county of Salop, and descended from Sir Francis Halle, a natural son of Albert, Archduke of Austria, King of the Romans, so called from being born at the city of Halle, in Tyrol.' The statement is improbable and unsupported.

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records of the time, and it is safe to conclude that his career was successful, as well as prudent. He was, as Fuller says, 'well-affected to the Reformation'; he adhered, in prosperity as in disaster, to the King's party; and he was not allowed to suffer for his faithful allegiance. That the King can do no wrong was the maxim of his life, as of his book; and he followed Henry VIII. through the twists and turns of his tortuous policy with a patient submissiveness which was safe, if not always creditable. Not merely did he approve the 'abolishing' of the papal power and the declaration of the King's supremacy; he made a speech in the Commons in favour of the Six Articles, that whip with six strings, as the people called it, which relentlessly undid the work of reform. His argument was characteristic: 'To 'be short,' said he, 'in chronicles it may be found that the 'most part of ceremonies now used in the Church of 'England were by princes either first invented, or at the 'least established; and, as we see, the same do till this 'day continue.' Thus he would permit neither the Clergy to propound and defend its doctrines, nor his fellow-citizens to exercise their private judgment. Moreover, he closed his harangue with a text wherewith he was ready to justify the last cruelties of his sovereign. 'For it is written,' exclaimed he, 'obey your King.' And he obeyed his King with a zeal, which he esteemed more highly than the truth, and which ensured his employment on many delicate occasions. He was one of the London Commissioners appointed in 1540 for the suppression of heresy; he visited Anne Askew in her cell, in the hope of hearing her recantation; and by way of recompense for his many services he received a grant of Abbey lands, which doubtless was a solace to his later years. We last hear of him as Member of Parliament for Bridgnorth, and in 1547 he died, thus escaping from the vengeance of Mary, which, had he survived,

survived, would surely have fallen upon him. But the punishment which he avoided fell upon his family and his book. In 1555 his father and mother were in Newgate, receiving letters from John Bradford 'for the testimony of 'the gospel,' while in the same year his book was burned by the Queen's command, and thus rendered a rarity for all time.

And perhaps it was fitting that the book should be punished rather than the man, for the book is by far the more important. The deeds that were done by Edward Hall are uncertain and fall short of fame. His *Chronicle of England* is a possession for all time. The title justly indicates the scope and purpose of the book. 'The Union of the two 'noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and Yorke,' thus it runs in the high-sounding terms of Tudor prose, 'beeyng 'long in continual discension for the croune of this noble 'realme, with all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the 'Princes, both of the one linage, and of the other, beginnyng 'at the tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowerth, the first aucthor 'of this devision, and so successively proceadyng to the reigne 'of the high and prudent prince, King Henry the Eight, 'the indubitate flower, and very heire of both the sayd 'linages.' The last words give you a clue to Hall's aim and ambition. 'The indubitate flower, and very heire of both 'the sayd linages': such is the true and only hero of his book—King Henry VIII. The lives of this sovereign's predecessors do but lead on to his nobler renown. The deeds, which they accomplished, are only memorable because they prepared the way for the mighty achievements of the most splendid monarch that ever sat upon a throne. In brief, the Chronicle, so far as the death of Henry VII., is but a preface. And the author has marked the distinction with perfect clarity both in style and measure. He did not handle the facts which he learned from others with the same

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fulness and circumstance wherewith he described the events of his own time, and the *Triumphant Reign of Henry VIII.*, as Hall proudly styles it, is in all respects a separate and coherent biography.

The twofold nature of the work is illustrated also by the diverse opinions which the critics have held concerning its style. It is Roger Ascham, in his *Scholemaster*, who put the case against Hall with the greatest ingenuity. He points out in a well-known passage that some kind of Epitome may be profitably used by men of skilful judgment: 'as if a wise man,' says he, 'would take Halle's 'Chronicle, where moch good matter is quite marde with 'Indenture Englishe, and first change strange and ink-'horne tearmes into commonlie used wordes: next, specially 'to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle, not 'onlie where words be vainlie heaped one upon an other, 'but also where many sentences, of one meaning, be 'so clowted up together as though M. Hall had bene, not 'writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in 'Hitching schole.' Thus Ascham; and then on the other hand we find Hearne, the Antiquary, and many another critic praising the 'masculine style' and direct utterance of the Chronicle. At first sight it would seem impossible to reconcile the opposing judgments, but a little thought will show that both are fair. Until he came to the reign of Henry VIII., Hall 'compiled and conjoyned' his work out of widely-gathered materials. He overlooked none of the familiar authorities. The French and Latin chronicles, Hector Boetius, Johannes Major, Jean Bouchet, Polydore Vergil, who presently equalised the debt by borrowing from Hall, Trevisa, Sir Thomas More—he knew and quoted them all; but, in order to make their matter his own, he marred it with what Ascham rightly calls 'Indenture 'Englishe.' Restless to contribute something of himself, he tricked

tricked out the facts of others in strange terms and bombastic periods. If you compare his *Life of Richard III.* with Sir Thomas More's, you will easily discern the process. The history is the same; the very phrases are echoed; but Hall gives you the impression, in Ascham's excellent words, that he is 'varying a sentence in Hitching schole.' He could, when he chose, compose in pedantic English as well as any of his contemporaries. He could clowt up his sentences with unsurpassed elaboration, and the early part of his *Chronicle* assuredly smells too much of the schools. He had not yet freed his style from the Latin which was spoken and written in Gray's Inn. The opening passage of his book is as good an example as another of the faults which spoiled his narrative. 'What mischief hath insurged,' thus the passage runs, 'in realmes by intestine devision, what 'depopulacion hath ensued in countries by civil discencion, 'what detestable murder hath been committed in cities by 'seperate factions, and what calamitee hath ensued in famous 'regions by domesticall discord and unnatural controversy: 'Rome hath felt, Italy can testifie, Fraunce can bear witnes, 'Beame can tell, Scotlande may write, Denmarke can shewe, 'and especially thys noble realme of Englande can apparauntly 'declare and make demonstracion.' Here, indeed, is work for the writer of Ascham's epitome, who, by cutting away words and sentences, might have left the matter half as much in quantity, and twice as good as it was, 'for pleasure and 'commodity.'

But Ascham's censure touches but one side of the Chronicler's talent. No sooner did Hall write of what he saw and knew, than his style justifies Hearne's epithet, and becomes 'masculine.' He says good-bye at once to the stale artifices of repetition and decoration. He describes the shifting scenes of life, not in 'inkhorne tearmes,' but in vivid words, which were then, if not now, commonly used. Yet his

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his style is never dry nor timid. He can enrich his prose with precisely the true colour, the proper dignity; and he has made the language of pageantry his own. No more do you smell the oft-trimmed lamp; you are in the open air, mingling with the loyal crowd in Chepe, or watching the King's procession, as it passes majestically through Gracious Street. In truth, when once he touches upon his own time, Hall writes like an inspired reporter; not like the reporter of to-day, who shuts his eye, and sees in phrases; but like a man of letters, unperplexed by the tricks of journalism, who goes out into the street to see, and writes down the result with sincere simplicity. Thus he gives you an impression of life and movement, for which you may ransack the most of historians in vain. And his sense of picturesqueness never deserts him. Turn his pages where you will, and you will find a living scene perfectly realised. Thus, in a few lines is described Anne Boleyn's appearance at her coronation: 'Then came the quene in a litter of white 'cloth of golde not covered nor bayled whiche was led by ii. 'palferies clad in white damaske doune to the ground head 'and all, led by her foetemen. She had on a circot of white 'clothe of Tyssue and a mantle of the same furred with 'Ermyne, her heere hanged doune, but on her head she had 'a coyffe with a circlet about it ful of riche stones. Over 'her was borne a Canopie of clothe of golde with iiii. gilte 'staves and iiii. silver belles. For bearyng of whiche 'Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iiii. to bear it one 'space on foote and other iiii. another space accordyng to 'their owne appointment.' But Hall has the rare tact of finding the right word, even in the simplest phrases, and of giving an air of distinction to plain facts. In deploring the impertinences of the King's minions, they 'were so 'familiar and homely with hym,' says he, 'and plaied such 'light touches with hym that they forgat themselves.' And when

when the English fleet sets sail against the French, the King, as Hall tells us, 'caused Sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall 'with all diligence to take the sea, whiche, with all spede 'possible made ready diverse goodly and tal shippes.' The effect is produced not by Latinisms nor fantastic terms, but by the right use of a simple, yet dignified, English, the secret of which was long since lost. Hall, in brief, was the master of two distinct styles, and Ascham's criticism leaves unscathed *The Triumphant Reign of Henry VIII.*

The date of the book's appearance is still a matter of controversy. Tanner declares, in his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that the first edition was printed by Berthelet, and published in 1542; but, if that were so, the burning of the book, in 1555, was so effectively performed that no perfect specimen of the first edition survived. A supposed fragment of it, however, has been found in a composite copy belonging to the University of Cambridge, and pieced together from three separate editions.[1] But, with the scanty evidence before us, it is impossible to arrive at a dogmatic conclusion whether Berthelet's edition ever saw the light or not. On the other hand, concerning Richard Grafton's two editions there is neither doubt nor difficulty. They appeared in 1548 and 1550, being printed in part, not from the finished manuscript, for Hall left his work incomplete, but from the author's notes. Now Hall, as Grafton tells us, was a man 'in the 'later time of his life not so painful and studious as 'before he had been.' But, in spite of Hall's imperfections, the editor did not presume to do more than arrange the

[1] Another fragment of this mysterious first edition (1542) has been detected in a copy bequeathed by Grenville to the British Museum. The colophon bears the date of 1548, but the main body of the book varies both in text and decoration from the familiar edition of that year, and it has been suggested that Grafton used up some of Berthelet's unfinished sheets. It is possible, indeed, that Berthelet did not complete his edition, and that Grafton acquired, along with Hall's notes, whatever sheets had been struck from Berthelet's press. However, here is a puzzle for the bibliographers, hitherto unsolved, and perhaps insoluble.

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Chronicler's own material. 'For as much as a dead man 'is the author thereof,' says he, with laudable candour, 'I 'thought it my duty to suffer his work to be his own, and 'therefore have altered nothing therein.' And so well has Grafton performed his humble office, that we may detect Hall's hand as easily in the last years of Henry's reign as in the first. There is still the same love of pageants, the same obedience to the royal will, the same ardent protestantism in the pages finished by Grafton, as in those which came fresh from the hand of Hall, and we may acknowledge that for once the editor has not betrayed his trust.

The life of Henry VIII. is a sincere picture of Hall's mind and fancy. The Chronicler reveals himself to his readers as well by his expressed opinions, as by the relative importance which he gives to passing events. Above all he is a hero-worshipper; and, when the necessity of worship is satisfied, he proves himself a student of society rather than of politics. The wars, which were the peculiar glory of the reign, interest him chiefly as they throw a lustre upon the courage and martial ardour of Henry. It is true that, as in duty bound, he describes the taking of Terouenne, and the siege of Tournay; he does not forget 'the old pranks of the 'Scots, which is ever to invade England when the King is 'out, or within age'; he relates with some circumstance the intrigues of the Emperor and the French King. But his heart is not in battles nor in foreign policy. The trumpet does not stir his blood; the signing of a treaty does not, in his eyes, decide the destiny of nations. A rabble of citizens, on the other hand, arouses his sympathy at once; and it is characteristic of him that the military exploit in which he takes the profoundest interest is the raid of the Adventurers in the marches of Calais. Now these Adventurers, or Krekers, as Hall calls them, were a body of wild persons, men out of service and fugitive apprentices, who offered their

their arms and their lives to the Lord Admiral. 'My 'lord,' said a tall yeoman, their spokesman, 'here be many 'good felowes that with your favour would jeopard to 'get or lose, for their mynde is to be revenged on the 'Frenchemen, enemies to the Kyng and his realme.' And the Admiral gave them a pennon of St. George, assuring them that if they got any booty and brought it to the army they should be paid to the uttermost. Therewith he supplied them also with money and weapons, and for many a long day they harried the French. 'These men,' says Hall, 'were light, hardy, and politike, and by 'their manhood and hardines had robbed many tounes, 'and taken many prisoners, with great boties.' Again and again their exploits are commemorated in the *Chronicle*, and their death, for they died together, was yet more glorious than their life. Surrounded at last and outnumbered by the French, they resolved to die, and each promised his fellow to slay him if he took to flight. 'Then every man 'cryed God mercie,' thus writes Hall, 'and kneled doune 'and kissed the earth, and strake handes eche wyth other, 'in token not to depart, and then made themselfs prest to 'the defence.' And so stout was their defence that not one escaped with his life, and they deserved, these citizen-soldiers, the immortality magnanimously bestowed upon them.

But they were citizens first, and soldiers after, and therefore claimed Hall's ungrudged sympathy. For in his eyes London was dearer even than England, and whenever the rights of her citizens were threatened, he was their loyal champion. To cite one instance of many: he relates indignantly how in 1513 the fields about Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch were enclosed by hedges and ditches, so that neither the young men of the City might shoot, nor the ancient persons might walk for their pleasure in the fields. Whereupon

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upon a great number of the City, led by a turner in a fool's coat, went forth with shovels and spades, 'and within a short 'space all the hedges about the townes were cast doune, 'and the diches filled, and every thyng made plain, the 'workemen were so diligent.' Neither King nor Mayor could withstand such enthusiasm as this; and Hall, lawyer though he was, not merely applauds the licence of the people, but notes with satisfaction that the access of young or old to the fields was never afterwards hindered by hedge or ditch.

However, it is in describing the fierce warfare, which raged for many years between the City and Wolsey, that Hall most clearly shows his sympathy. Now the Cardinal's vast enterprises could not be carried to a successful issue, nor the King's lavish expenses be defrayed without money. And where should money be obtained if not in the City? So taxes were levied unrelentingly, now as tithes, now under the more amiable title of benevolences. In 1522 the King demanded £20,000, which sore chafed the citizens, but the money was found: 'howbeit the craftes solde muche of 'ther plate.' Two months later the Cardinal demanded that every man should swear of what value he was in movables, and render a tenth unto the King. The Aldermen protested, as well they might. 'For Goddes sake,' they said to Wolsey, 'remembre this, that riche merchauntes 'in ware be bare of money.' But bare or not, they paid, and some even declared themselves of more worth than they were from pride. The King and his Cardinal, however, were still unsatisfied, and in the next year they proposed that a fifth part of the substance of the realm should be paid as a war-tax. The murmurings grew louder on every side. If all the coin were in the King's hands, how, it was asked, should men live? Hall, of course, makes no attempt to hide his opinion. He is on the side of

of the people. 'The Merchaunt that is ryche,' says he, 'of Sylke, Wolle, Tynne, Clothe, and such Merchaundise, 'hath not the fifth parte in money; the husbande man is 'ryche in corne and cattel, yet he lacketh of that some.' But the Cardinal was deaf to argument; he detected on every hand the signs of great abundance—rich apparel, servants, fat feasts, and delicate dishes. And thus the dispute increased in rancour and bitterness. On the one hand the Cardinal renewed his exaction; on the other, the people cursed the Cardinal, saying that, if men should give their goods by a commission, 'then wer it worse than the taxes of 'Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.'

At last, in 1525, the quarrel culminated. Lord Cobham, the commissioner of the tax in Kent, handled the men roughly, 'and by reason one Jhon Skudder answered hym 'clubbishly, he sent hym to the Towre of London.' From Kent the disaffection spread throughout the realm. Women wept, young folks cried, and men that had no work began to rage, and assembled themselves in companies. The Duke of Norfolk sent to the rebellious commons of his shire to know their intent, asking them who was their Captain. Then a well-aged man begged licence to speak, which was granted. 'My Lorde,' said he, 'sythe you aske who is 'our capitain, for soth hys name is Povertie, for he and his 'cosyn Necessitie hath brought us to this doyng.' But the whole of this popular movement is sketched with a fulness and insight which we should seek elsewhere in vain, and it clearly marks the difference between Hall and those historians whose chief interest lies in the movements of opposing armies. That, in truth, is Hall's chief merit: he records the simple episodes of every day, which are too often overshadowed by the intrigues of ministers or parliament. Thus he takes delight in a 'goodly 'disguisyng' played at Gray's Inn, and set forth with rich and

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and costly apparel, and strange devices of masks and morrises; nor was his pleasure decreased by the fact that the play was an allegory of the quarrel between the people and the Cardinal, and that all men laughed thereat save only Wolsey himself. Thus he notes that the proclamation made in 1526 against unlawful games had an unexpected effect. When the young men were forbidden bowls and such other games, 'some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferretyng of 'other mennes Conies, and stealyng Dere in Parkes, and 'other unthriftines.' In the same spirit he records the variation of the price of wheat, deplores the rains of 1527 which destroyed both crops and beasts, and, in brief, gives us such a picture of life in town and country as could only have been drawn by an eager contemporary.

Being ever a staunch champion of the citizens, Hall harboured a bitter dislike of all foreigners. He hated a Frenchman as bitterly as did the Duke of Buckingham himself, and he looked with a wise suspicion upon any interloper, who threatened the trade of London. In those days the popular policy was not protection but exclusion, and the free entry of foreign goods more than once roused the City to rebellion. In 1517, as Hall tells us, the multitude of strangers was so great in London, that the English artificers could scarce get a living. Worse still, the strangers, not content with ousting the citizens from their crafts, mocked and oppressed them, trusting always in the protection of the Cardinal. At last an accident set the whole of London ablaze. A carpenter, named Williamson, bought two stock-doves in Chepe, and was about to pay for them, when a Frenchman snatched them from his hands, and said they were no meat for a carpenter. The French ambassador defended the effrontery of his countryman, and the carpenter was sent to prison. But the triumph was short-lived. Within a few days John Lincoln, a broker, had

had persuaded Dr. Beale to preach the Easter sermon at St. Mary's, Spittle, against the aliens, and the Doctor, with *Pugna pro patria* for his text, had no difficulty in inflaming the citizens. Foreigners were buffeted in the streets, or thrown into the canal. A general rebellion was prophesied for May Day, and the Cardinal bade the Mayor set a watch upon all suspected persons. But the watch was set in vain: a trivial incident led to so fierce a riot, that the day was known as Evil May Day ever after. Now, two young men were playing at buckerels in Chepe, when by the command of an alderman one was arrested. Instantly the cry was raised of 'prentices and clubs, and out at every door came clubs and weapons. The rioters marched through the streets, sacking the foreign quarters, and putting the lives of all the aliens in jeopardy. However, at three o'clock the Lieutenant of the Tower turned his ordnance upon the City, and the rioters, who escaped capture, dispersed with what speed they might. Of those arrested, Lincoln alone suffered death, and some others, 'younglinges and olde false knaves,' as Hall calls them, were brought to trial at Westminster Hall, in their shirts and with halters about their necks. There the King pardoned them all, and when the general pardon was pronounced, 'the prisoners shouted at once, and al together 'cast up their halters into the hal roffe, so that the King 'might perceave thei were none of the discretest sorte.' But while Hall rejoices that the ringleaders remained undiscovered, he praises both their courage and discretion. The citizens might, had they chosen, have taken a fierce revenge upon the soldiers. 'But lyke true subjectes they 'sufered paciently.'

The French, however, did not profit by the lesson of May Day, and but a year later the public indignation broke out again. An Embassy, sent to London by the French King, brought

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brought in its train a vast mob of pedlars and jewellers with 'diverse merchaundise uncustomed, under the coloure of the 'trussery of the Ambassadors.' A riot seemed imminent, but once more the people's anger was appeased, although calm was not wholly restored to the city, until, in 1526, an Act was passed which so bridled the strangers that they came to 'a reasonable point and conclusion.' Nor was it only in commerce that Hall resented the competition of the aliens. He had an equally sturdy contempt for the manners which certain young Englishmen brought back from the Court of Francis I. When they returned to England, says he, 'they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and 'apparel, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all 'the estates of Englande were by them laughed at.' Indeed for exclusive patriotism, it would be hard to find Hall's match, and no historian has ever uttered the cry of 'England 'for the English' with more eloquence and justice.

And he would no more willingly permit the Church to be trammelled by foreign influence than the trade of London. In other words he was, as I have said, an ardent protestant. His dislike of the Pope is profound and unconcealed, nor does he ever lose a chance of avowing his antipathy to Rome, an antipathy which colours his history and intensifies his alert distrust of Cardinal Wolsey. He notes with satisfaction the growing disputes between the 'Catholics' and 'Evangelicals,' which he knew must end in the forsaking of the Pope; he welcomes the proclamation against bulls; he proudly hails the King supreme head of the Church, whereafter, says he, with undisguised enthusiasm, 'the Pope with all his College of 'Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was 'utterly abolished out of this realme. God be everlast-'yngly praysed therefore.' Where his religion is touched, he does not scruple to interrupt his history with tedious digressions,

digressions, as when he relates the case of Richard Hun, who, being imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower for heresy, was found hanging by the neck in a girdle of silk. The Bishop of London declared that the man had hanged himself, but it was proved that William Horsey, the Bishop's Chancellor, had murdered him, and Hall, to justify an unfortunate heretic, forgets the King and his pageants, and wearies the reader with long-drawn depositions. His protestantism, indeed, knew only one check: when the King, in his arrogance, brought forward the Bill of the Six Articles, Hall, as I have said, supported them against his conscience. Much as he loved the reformed religion, he loved his King more. But he had his revenge in his *Chronicle*; for before it was published the Bill was repealed, and the historian could describe it in the words of the common people as 'the bloody statute,' without incurring the charge of disloyalty.

Yet protestant as he was, Hall had no love of a dismal life. His delight in the pageantry of the Court, and in the masks and mummeries, which Henry VIII.'s ingenuity designed, is most eloquently expressed. His style was perfectly adapted for the description of splendid processions and imposing spectacles. For once historian and monarch were well met: as Hall had at the tip of his pen all the words of magnificence, so Henry nourished a never-failing joy in dressing-up, and in devising brilliant festivals. Nor would he exclude the people from his pompous revelries, and time was when at Richmond the mob rent and spoiled the pageant, stripping even their sovereign and his companions to their doublet and hose. But the King's good humour was undisturbed. He turned the incident to mirth and laughter, and let the plunderers go off with their booty. Thus in war as in peace the jousts and merry-makings continued. Once upon a time the Scots Ambassadors were amazed

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amazed that King Henry should disport himself, when he was at war with France, and were shortly told by a gentleman of the Court that they did not set by the French King one bean. And if the spirit of revelry was unchanging, the devices were as various as cunning and extravagance could make them. Now the pageant was shaped like a mountain, with a tree of gold set upon the top; now it was a castle, garnished after the most warlike fashion, with *la forteresse dangereuse* written upon its front. Or the garden of Esperance, with roses and pomegranates of silk and gold, was presented; or wild men apparelled in green moss rushed suddenly from an artificial wood; or a fair lady sat upon a rock with a dolphin on her lap; or an allegory of ships passed before the King and Queen. The gay and joyous Court always found an excuse for a pageant. Christmas and Twelfth Night each had their gorgeous festivals, while on May Day, his Grace, 'beyng yonge, and wyllyng not to be idell,' would rise in the morning very early to fetch may or green boughs. Or he would take the Queen into the greenwood to see how Robin Hood and the outlaws lived, and to breakfast on venison. Then there were jousts and tournaments, at which the King, the bravest knight of his time, always bore away the prize, happy to receive it at the gracious hands of Katherine. For it was an age of chivalry, in which the customs and titles of knighthood were still preserved; and even when the King went to war, it was but a joust fought to the death; challenges were given and received; and great captains donned their armour as much for display as for policy.

But the culmination of glory and splendour was the Field of the Cloth of Gold, whereon Henry and Francis took the sound advice of Comines, whose maxim it was that princes should not meet, except to share their pleasures.

pleasures. Never was so noble a spectacle seen before. The palace of gold, which sparkled in the plain of Guisnes, rose as by enchantment. Before the gate stood the old god of Wine, fashioned in gold, 'birlyng the wine,' and over his head was the motto, which Rabelais adapted to his own purpose: *faictes bonne chere quy vouldra.* To those who crossed the large court 'fayre and beautifull' there was presented a scene of dazzling beauty. The roofs were covered with cloth of silk, which shewed like fine burned gold. Gold was the arras, 'compassed of many 'auncient stones'; gold the chairs, gold the cushions. The chapel was a still greater marvel. Over the altar stood twelve golden images. The crucifix in the King's closet was gold, gold were the candlesticks; even the roof was gilt 'with fine golde and Senapar and Bice.' And the trees which shone in this wondrous plain—the Hawthorn for Henry, the Raspberry for Francis—they, too, were wrought of silver and Venice gold, until nature was eclipsed by artifice, and the very flowers and fruits were golden symbols of friendship and alliance. Thus in reciting the glories of this peaceful encounter, Hall sings a pæan to the precious metal, and the burden of his song is always the same—gold, gold, gold! Nor did the knights fall below the splendour of the landscape. 'To-day the French,' as Shakespeare wrote,

> 'All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
> 'Shone down the English; and to-morrow they
> 'Made Britain India: every man that stood
> 'Show'd like a mine.'

And the bravest sight of all was the King himself—'the 'moste goodliest Prince that ever reigned over the realme 'of Englande'—apparelled in a garment of 'Clothe of 'Silver, of Damaske, ribbed with Clothe of Golde, so thicke 'as might bee,' and bravely did he bear himself against the rufflers and gallants of the French Court. There, in the golden

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golden field, the Kings ran course after course, breaking their spears like valiant princes, and presently went each his own way, eager to efface this memory of joyance in envy and hatred. Such was the pageant which Hall, doubtless a spectator, described with all his curious knowledge of trappings, and which was the noblest spectacle of an age renowned above all others for its noble pageantry.

But not even the splendour of his life could endear Wolsey to the Chronicler, and it is evident from his first appearance in Hall's pages that the great Cardinal is to play a sinister part. He was a good philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit—so much Hall admits; but 'for pride, 'covetous, and ambition he excelled all other.' No sooner, indeed, is Wolsey advanced to the Archbishopric of York, than Hall declares that henceforth he studied day and night to be a Cardinal; and in the least of his actions the historian detects a limitless, insensate ambition. The brilliant services which he rendered to the King, the respect for England which he imposed upon all Europe, were as nothing in Hall's eyes. The King's loyal worshipper could only see in the Cardinal's masks and banquets a stumbling-block of offence, for he thought that the King should engross the dignity and magnificence of his age; and he looked with a kind of jealousy upon the lavish grandeur of York Place. Moreover, while he delighted in all the golden triumphs of peace and war, which his eager eye witnessed, he flouted the Cardinal as a thief, when he asked the people to pay the bill. In brief, he intensified in his book the fierce hatred, which the people expressed as loudly as they dared against the omnipotent Chancellor. Was it not a disgrace that this butcher's dog should lie in the Manor of Richmond?[1] And when Wolsey fell into disgrace, Hall

[1] Shakespeare echoed this taunt: 'this butcher's cur is venom-mouthed,' says Buckingham in the play. Shakespeare, indeed, found not a little inspiration in Hall. The episodes of his *Henry VIII.* follow the *Chronicle* with curious fidelity.

was not content to repeat the articles in the Cardinal's indictment. He must needs turn and shift them to his victim's prejudice. From Hall, through Shakespeare, it has gone to the ends of the earth that Wolsey, in documents addressed to the Pope and foreign princes, was wont to write 'Ego et Meus Rex.' With this arrogance he was never charged, the worst hinted against him being that he added his own name to his master's—'my King and I.' Nor does the Cardinal's tragic death persuade Hall to relent. He cannot find the same excuses for his enemy, as Shakespeare in his magnanimity puts in the mouth of honest Griffith. He only remembers that Wolsey was of a great stomach, that he counted himself equal with princes, and that by crafty suggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure. He did all this and more, and yet deserves our pardon and respect. Masterful as he was, he would let none master England but himself, and Henry's decay in honour and happiness began only with his minister's death.

The drama gives you the same sense of pageantry and magnificence which is always present in Hall's pages, while in many a passage there is a verbal similarity which cannot be gainsaid. The clamours of the people against the Cardinal's exaction is translated directly from the prose of Hall into the verse of Shakespeare, and even the King's angry speech to the faithful Wolsey is but an accurate paraphrase. Nor does the contempt which Hall hurls at the gallicised minions of the English Court lose its force in the phrase of Shakespeare. Buckingham's sad protest after his condemnation is another echo of Hall. The barge is ready and 'fitted 'with furniture as suits the greatness of his person.' Then says Buckingham:—

'Nay, Sir Nicholas,
'Let it alone; my state now will but mock me.
'When I came hither, I was lord high constable
'And Duke of Buckingham; now, poor Edward Bohun.'

Thus Shakespeare, and, if you turn to Hall, you will find the same thought set in prose. 'Sir Thomas Lovell'—thus runs the passage—'desired him to sytte on 'the cusshyns and carpet ordeined for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to 'Westminster I was Duke of Buckyngham, now I am but Edwarde Bowhen the 'mooste caitiffe of the worlde.' The famous speech of Katherine too is borrowed from the *Chronicle*, even in its metaphor. 'It is you,' says the Queen to Wolsey, 'have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me.' Or as Hall puts it: 'therefore of malice you have kindled thys fyre, and set this matter a broche.' These are but a few parallels of many which add not a little to the value and interest of the book.

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But Hall was so jealous a champion of the King, that he could bear no rival near the throne. Henry was his only hero, and at the outset of his reign no finer hero could be found for epic or history. He was young, he was fair to look upon, he was accomplished. 'The features of 'his body,' says Hall with the true accent of adulation, 'his goodly personage, his amiable vysage, princely coun-'tenaunce, and the noble qualities of his royall estate, to 'every man knowen, nedeth no rehersall, consideryng that 'for lacke of cunnyng I cannot express the gifts of grace, 'and of nature, that God hath endowed hym with all.' Katherine in the days of her unclouded state assured Wolsey that 'with his health and life nothing could come 'amiss to him.' In the eyes of Giustiniani, the Venetian envoy, he was far handsomer than any sovereign in Christendom. 'It was the prettiest thing in the world,' said this enthusiast, 'to see him play tennis, his fair skin 'glowing through a shirt of the finest texture.' And like all the princes of his house, Henry was infinitely vain of his appearance. When Pasquilijo was in England the King called him to a summer-house, and questioned him narrowly about the French King. 'Is he as tall as I am?' he asked first. Pasquilijo assured him there was little difference. 'Is he as stout?' demanded Henry, and, hearing that he was not, gravely enquired, 'What sort of a leg has he?' 'Spare,' replied the envoy. Then said the King, opening the front of his doublet, and placing his hand upon his thigh, 'Look here; I also have a fine calf to my 'leg.'[1] But not merely was Henry handsome, he excelled all the chivalry of his time in manly exercises. In the tournament there was no knight who could withstand his onset, and the many prizes which he won were not awarded

[1] In precisely the same fashion did Henry's daughter Elizabeth question Sir James Melville concerning Mary, the Queen of the Scots, and in his answers Sir James proved himself a more cunning diplomatist than the Venetian.

him out of mere courtesy. As in war he knew no fear, so in sport he knew no fatigue. He never went a-hunting without tiring eight or ten horses; he loved hawking and shooting as he loved the joust; and if he lost vast sums in the tennis-court, it was when an encroaching corpulence hindered his activity. Moreover, as has been said, he had a rare genius for parade. He surpassed all his contemporaries in the lavish accoutrement of his court and person. Nor did this taste for grandeur leave him with the joyousness of youth. Even when he went to meet Anne of Cleves, he was still magnificent. His courser was stately as ever; his trappings of gold and pearl had lost none of their splendour. And, if we may believe Hall, in comparison of his person, his rich apparel was on that day little esteemed.

Yet he was no mere sportsman, proud of his golden beard and sturdy arm. By temperament a scholar, he had become by training learned in all the learning of his time. Erasmus not merely applauded his erudition, but hailed him as a true and generous patron of poets, who had brought back the golden age, and had illustrated in his own life the splendid gifts of ancient heroes. His speeches and letters prove him the master of a style, vigorous and his own; and he possessed a power of argument which, if in age it declined to sophistry, was the terror of all antagonists. In the midst of his sedulous amusements, he still had time to play the statesman, and even after he was deprived of Wolsey's counsel, he was a match for the best of his contemporaries in policy. Nor did the smallest detail escape him that might benefit his kingdom. He suppressed vagabondage, and vastly improved the breed of horses. Above all, his zest of life was unquenchable. There was no pursuit, either gay or serious, which could not arouse his enthusiasm. He danced, he wrestled, he cast

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cast the bar, he leapt with a pole—a sport at which he once jeopardised his life, he made ballads, he set songs, he composed two goodly masses in five parts, 'whiche were song 'often times in hys chapel, and afterwards in diverse other 'places.' He spoke, besides English, French, Spanish, and Latin, and he collected books. Now it amused him to devise a new harness, such as no armourer had ever seen. Now medicine engrossed him, and you hear that he invented a plaster, a sovereign remedy for sores. In brief, he was the most highly gifted, most handsome, and most affable monarch that ever graced the throne of England, and, until ruin overtook his character, he deserved the most eloquent panegyric that even Hall himself could indite.

And when he tired of tournaments and books, he fell to gambling, and hazarded his wealth with reckless prodigality. His private accounts show how much he lost to his minions at dice and imperial, while the French hostages are said to have taken from him six or eight thousand ducats a day, a profit which doubtless lightened their enforced sojourn in a foreign country. His fame as a gambler even spread abroad, and certain Frenchmen and Lombards were brought to London to make wagers with him, and a rich harvest they reaped until their craft was discovered. And then, that he might leave nothing untried, he was constant in piety; he heard five masses a day, besides vespers and compline in the Queen's chamber; or he would indulge that love of theological disquisition which never left him.

Such was Hall's hero in his youth, and such in Hall's fancy he remained unto the end. The faithful chronicler could discern no spot nor blemish in his King, and if the people justly cried out against him, he was still eloquent in excuse. In all simplicity of heart he believed that 'a certain 'scrupulosity pricked his master's conscience,' when Henry was minded to put Katherine away; and though it was murmured

murmured that the King's conscience had 'crept too near 'another lady,' Hall stoutly maintained that the murmur was slanderous and contrary to truth. But alas for Hall's loyalty! Long before the Universities had supported the King's cause, Henry was already buying purple velvet for Mistress Anne, who was so vastly increased in dignity that the Mayor of London deemed it prudent to send her a gift of cherries; he was already writing impassioned love-letters to his sweetheart, promising that 'shortly you and I shall have 'our desired End, which should be more to my 'Hearts Ease and more Quietnesse to my Minde, than any 'other Thing in this World.' The truth is, that in spite of Hall's championship, a dark shadow had fallen across the brain of Henry VIII. The death of Wolsey had removed the last hindrance from his path of wilfulness, and after the divorce of Katherine, he set no restraint upon his actions. The very virtues which hitherto had distinguished him, changed, by a kind of excess, into vices. His learning turned to casuistry, his accomplishment became cunning, his bravery fell away into an implacable cruelty. He who had been open with all men, grew into a monster of suspicion. While his eyes, sunk deeper into his head, overlooked nothing, his tongue refused to speak what his eyes saw. 'If I thought that my cap knew my counsel,' said he to Cavendish, 'I would throw it in the fire and burn it.' But in nothing would he be thwarted. He ruled the Church, and overrode the law. It is said that he was better skilled in the law of divorce than any wiseacre in Christendom, and his profound knowledge of theology, which he might wisely have left to others, converted him into that worst of men—a pedant, who was also bloodthirsty and omnipotent. Grimly determined upon matrimony, yet always unfortunate in his dealings with women, he murdered the wives, whom once he had loved, and decreed his children bastards. He saw

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saw the closest of his friends, such as Francis Weston, go to the scaffold without a whisper of regret. He received Anne Boleyn's eloquent letter 'from her doleful prison in 'the Tower,' begging him not to 'touch the innocent souls 'of these poor gentlemen,' and in a few days openly showed Jane Seymour as Queen. With flattery and obeisance his ferocity of temper increased, and neither man nor woman was safe who thwarted his will. It was a cruel century, which did not shrink from boiling a man alive, nor from burning a child of fifteen at the stake;[1] yet Henry outdid the worst of his contemporaries in cruelty. Whoever refused to acknowledge him supreme head of the Church, died upon the block: thus fell Fisher and Thomas More, the wisest spirits of the time. And if his enemies did not flout his theological supremacy, a frivolous pretext was always found for their destruction. So Surrey, the most accomplished poet of an accomplished age, perished, a victim to the royal displeasure, which neither genius nor grace sufficed to conciliate. In truth, history records nothing more pathetic than this ruin of a noble mind; and through it all Hall's loyalty never wavered. In his faithful eyes the King could do no wrong, and he was able to inspire others with his own splendid fidelity. Many of the later historians were persuaded by Hall's eloquence to reject the legend that Henry VIII. was an English Bluebeard, and to regard him as an amiable and kindly monarch. 'Of persone he was tall and mightye, 'and in his later yeres somewhat grosse, in witte and 'memory excellent. Of such majestie tempered with 'humanitie and gentlenesse, as was comely in so great 'and noble a Prince. In knowledge of good letters, he

[1] In the twenty-second year of Henry's reign, one Richard Roose was boiled alive for poisoning divers persons; and ten years later a child named Richard Mekins perished at Smithfield for repeating what he had heard some other folks speak against the Sacrament of the Altar.

'farre passed all the Kings of this realme that had bene 'before him, and for his magnificence and liberalitie he 'was renowned throughout all the world.' Thus writes Grafton after Hall, in recording the death of Henry VIII., and you wonder whether any king, who had not dipped his hands in innocent blood, was ever graced with a nobler epitaph.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

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THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE VIII.

THE I. YERE [1509-10]

HENRY the VIII. sonne to Kyng Henry the VII. beganne his reigne the xxii. daie of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1509, and in the xviii. yere of his bodily age: Maximilian then beeyng Emperoure, and Lewes the XII. reignyng in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the Kyng of Arragon and Castell, and Kyng James the fourthe then rulyng over the Scottes: Whose stile was Proclaimed by the blast of a Trumpet, in the citie of London, the xxiii. daye of the saied monethe, with muche gladnes and rejoysyng of the people.

And the same day, he departed from his manour of Richemond to the tower of London, where he remayned, closly and secrete, with his counsayll, till the funeralles of his father, were finished and ended. The same daie also, sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmonde Dudley Esquier, greate counsaylers to the late kyng, were attached and brought to the Tower, not to the litle rejoysyng of many persones, whiche by them wer greved, whiche, attachement was thought to bee procured by malice of theim, that with their aucthoritie, in the late kynges daies wer offended, or els to shifte the noyse, of the straight execucion of penall statutes in the late kynges daies, by punishement of those persones, and other promoters, for to satisfie and appeace the people. The same daie also was attached, the lorde Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckyngham and sent to the Tower, the cause was not thought to be great, because he was so sone delivered, and the same yere was created erle of Wilshire. And the same daie also Doctor Ruthal was named Bushoppe of Duresme.

Empson and Dudley attached.

Sone after were apprehended diverse, called promoters, belongyng to Empson and Dudley, as Camby, Page, Smith, and diverse other, as Derbie, Wright, Sympson, and Stocton, of

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of the whiche, the moste part ware papers, and stoode on the Pillorie. How bee it, the moste craftiest knave of all, called Jhon Baptist Brimald, escaped and came to Westminster, and there toke Sanctuarie.

A generall Pardon.

The xxv. daie of Aprill was Proclaimed, that the kynges grace, ratefied all the Pardones, graunted by his father, and also pardoned all suche persones, as was then in suite, for any offence, whatsoever it was, Treason, Murder and Felonie onely excepte.

After that all thynges necessary, for the enterment and funeral pompe of the late kyng, were sumpteously prepared and done: the corps of the said defunct was brought out of his privie chambre, into the great chamber, where he rested thre daies, and every daie had there Dirige and Masse song by a Prelate mitered: and from thence he was conveighed into the halle, where he was also thre daies, and had a like service there, and so thre daies in the Chapel, and in every of these thre places, was a hearce of waxe, garnished with banners, and ix. mourners gevyng there attendance, all the service tyme: and every daye they offered, and every place hanged with blacke clothe. Upon Wedinsdaie, the ix. daie of Maye, the corps was putte into a Chariot, covered with blacke clothe of golde drawen with v. greate Corsers, covered with blacke Velvet, garnished with cusshions of fine gold: and over the corps, was an Image or a representacion of the late kyng, laied on Cusshions of golde, and the saied image was appareled, in the kynges riche robes of estate with a croune on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes: and the chariot was garnished with banners, and Pencelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kinges chapell, and a gret nombre of Prelates, set forward praiyng: then folowed all the kynges servauntes, in blacke, then folowed the Chariot: and after the Chariot ix. mourners, and on every side wer caried long torches and shorte, to the nombre of vi. C. and in this ordre they came to saincte Georges felde, from Richemond. There met with theim all the Priestes and Clearkes, and religious men, within the citee, and without (whiche went formoste, before the kynges Chapell) the Maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London Bridge, and so

gave

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gave their attendaunce on the same, through the citee: and in good ordre, the compaignie passed thorough the citie, wherof the stretes on every side, wer set with long Torches, and on the stalles stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reverence, the Chariot was brought to the Cathedral Churche of sainct Paule, where the body was taken out, and caried into the Quire, and set under a goodly Herce of waxe, garnished with Banners, Pencelles, and Cusshions, where was soung a solempne Dirige, and a Masse, with a Sermon, made by the Busshoppe of Rochester: duryng whiche tyme, the kynges houshold and the mourners, reposed theim in the Busshoppes Paleis. The nexte daie, the corps in like ordre was removed, toward Westminster, sir Edward Haward, bearyng the kynges banner, on a courser trapped, in the armes of the defunct. In Westminster was a curious herse, made of ix. principalles, full of lightes, whiche, were lighted at the comming of the corps, whiche, was taken out of the Chariot, by sixe Lordes, and set under the Herse, the Image or the representacion, liyng upon the Cusshyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed: within the firste railes, satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile, stoode knightes bearyng banners of sainctes, and without the same, stoode officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Gartier king at Armes, cried, for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the VII. late kyng of this realme: then the quire beganne *Placebo*, and so song Dirige, whiche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the Palaice, where they had a voyde, and so reposed for that night.

The next daie, wer three Masses solemply song, by Busshoppes, and at the last Masse was offered, the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target, and his helme, and at thende of Masse the mourners offered up, riche Paulles of cloth of gold and Baudekin, and when the quire sang, *Libera me*, the body was put into the yearthe, and then the lorde Treasorer, lorde Stewarde, lorde Chamberlein, the Treasorer, and Comptroller of the kynges houshold, brake their staves and caste theim into the grave. Then Gartier cried with a loude voyce, *Vive le Roy Henry le hutiesme, Roy Dangliter, et de Fraunce, sire Dirland.* Then all the mourners, and all other that had geven

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geven their attendance, on this funerall Obsequie, departed to the Palaice, where they had a greate and a sumptuous feast.

Wonder it were to write, of the lamentacion that was made, for this Prince emongest his servauntes, and other of the wisest sort, and the joy that was made for his death, by suche as were troubled, by rigor of his lawe: yet the towarde hope whiche, in all poyntes appered in the young kyng did bothe repaire and comforte, the hevie hartes of theim, whiche, had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the myndes of suche, as were releved by the sayed kynges deathe, all their olde grudge and rancor, and confirmed their newe joye, by the newe graunte of his pardon.

When the funeralles of this late kyng, wer thus honorably finished, greate preparacion was made, for the coronacion of this newe kyng, whiche was appoynted on Midsomer daye nexte ensuyng: duryng whiche preparacion, the kyng was moved, by some of his counsail, that it should be honorable, and profitable to his realme, to take to wyfe the lady Katherin, late wyfe to Prince Arthur his brother disseased, least she having so greate a dowrie, might mary out of the realme, whiche, should be unprofitable to hym: by reason of whiche mocion, the kyng beyng young, and not understandyng the lawe of God, espoused the sayed lady Katherine, the third daye of June, the whiche mariage, was dispensed with by Pope July, at the request of her father, kyng Farnando, contrary to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng divines. This mariage of the brothers wyfe, was muche murmured agaynst, in the beginnyng, and ever more and more, searched out by learning and scripture, so that at the laste, by the determinacion, of the best universities of Christendom it was adjudged detestable, and plain contrary to Goddes lawe, as you shall here, after xx. yeres.

The Kynges mariage doubtefull at the beginnyng.

If I should declare, what payn, labour, and diligence, the Taylers, Embrouderers, and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and devise garmentes, for Lordes, Ladies, knightes, and Esquiers, and also for deckyng, trappyng, and adornyng of Coursers, Jenetes, and Palffries, it wer to long to reherse, but for a suretie, more riche, nor more straunge nor more curious workes, hath not ben seen, then wer prepared agyanst this coronacion.

On the xxi. daie of this moneth of June the kyng came from

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from Grenewiche to the Tower, over London Bridge, and so by Grace Churche, with whome, came many a wel appareled gentelman, but in especial the Duke of Buckyngham, whiche had a goune all of goldsmithes worke, very costly, and there the kyng rested, till Saterdaie next ensuyng.

Fridaie the twentie and twoo daie of June, every thyng beeyng in a readines, for his Coronacion: his grace with the Quene, beeyng in the Tower of London, made there Knightes of the Bathe, to the nombre of twentie and foure, with all the observaunces and Ceremonies, to the same belongyng.

And the morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, the xxiii. day of the said monethe, his grace, with the Quene, departed from the Tower, through the citie of London, agaynst whose comming, the streates where his grace should passe, were hanged with Tapistrie, and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from over agaynst Grace Churche, unto Bredstreate, in Chepeside, where every occupacion stode, in their liveries in ordre, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the worshipfull craftes: highest and lastly stode the Maior, with the Aldermen. The Goldsmithes stalles, unto the ende of the Olde Chaunge, beeing replenished with Virgins in white, with braunches of white Waxe: the priestes and clerkes, in riche Copes with Crosses and censers of silver, with censyng his grace, and the Quene also as they passed. The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable vysage, princely countenaunce, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to every man knowen, nedeth no rehersall, considerynge, that for lacke of cunnyng, I cannot expresse the giftes of grace and of nature, that God hath endowed hym with all: yet partly, to discrive his apparell, it is to bee noted, his grace ware in his upperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Velvet, furred with Armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embrowdered with Diamondes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Bauderike aboute his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trapper of his Horse, Damaske gold, with a depe purfell of Armyns, his knightes and Esquires for his body, in Crimosyn Velvet, and all the gentelmen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and houshold servauntes, wer appareled in Skarlet. The Barons of the five

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five Portes, bare the Canaby, or clothe of estate: For to resite unto you, the greate estates by name, the ordre of their goyng, the nombre of the lordes Spirituall and temporall, Knightes, Esquires, and gentelmen, and of their costly and rich apparell, of severall devises and fashions, who tooke up his horse best, or who was richest besene, it would aske long tyme, and yet I should omitte many thynges, and faile of the nombre, for they were verie many: wherefore I passe over, but this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scarsitie of clothe of Tissue, clothe of Golde, clothe of Silver, Broderie, or of Golde smithes workes: but in more plentie and abundaunce, then hath been seen, or redde of at any tyme before, and thereto many and a greate nombre of chaines of Golde, and Bauderikes, bothe massy and greate. Also before the kynges highnes, rode twoo gentle menne, richely appareled, and aboute their bodies travers, they did beare twoo Robes the one of the Duchie of Guyon, and the other for the Duchie of Normandie, with Hattes on their heddes, poudered with Armyns, for the estate of the same. Nexte folowed twoo persones of good estate, the one bearyng his cloke, the other his hatte, appareled bothe in Golde Smithes woorke, and Broudery, their horses Trapped, in burned Silver, drawen over with Cordes of Grene silke and Gold, the edges and borders of their apparell, beyng fretted with Gold of Damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the kynges Horse, clothed in tissue, Broudered with Roses of fine Gold, and traverse his body, a greate Bauderike of Gold, greate and massy, his Horse trapped in Golde, leadyng by a rayne of Silke, the kynges spare Horse trapped barde wise, with harneis Broudered with Bullion Golde, curiously wroughte by Gold Smithes. Then nexte folowed, the nyne chyldren of honor, upon greate coursers, appareled on their bodies, in Blewe Velvet, poudered with Floure Delices of Gold, and chaines of Golde Smithes woorke, every one of their horses, trapped with a trapper of the kynges title, as of Englande, and Fraunce, Gascoyne, Guyan, Normandy, Angeow, Cornewall, Wales, Irelande, etc. wrought upon Velvettes, with Embrouderie, and Gold Smithes worke.

Then next folowyng in ordre, came the Quenes retinew, as Lordes, Knightes, Esquires, and gentle menne in their degrees, well mounted, and richely appareled in Tissues, clothe

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clothe of Golde, of Silver, Tynsels, and Velvettes Embroudered, freshe and goodly to behold. The Quene then by name Katheryne, sittyng in her Litter, borne by twoo White Palferies, the Litter covered, and richely appareled, and the Palferies Trapped in White clothe of gold, her persone appareled in white Satyn Embroudered, her heeire hanging doune to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones. Next after, sixe honorable personages on White Palfreis, all appareled in Clothe of Golde, and then a Chariot covered, and the Ladies therein, all appareled in Clothe of Golde. And another sort of Ladies, and then another Chariot, then the Ladies next the Chariot, and so in ordre, every one after their degrees, in clothe of Gold, Clothe of Silver, Tynselles, and Velvet, with Embrouderies, every couplement of the saied Chariotes, and the draught harnesses, wer poudered with Armins, mixt with clothe of Gold: and with muche joye and honor, came to Westminster, where was high preparacion made, as well for the saied Coronacion, as also for the solempne feast and justes, therupon to be had and doen.

The morowe folowyng beyng sondaie, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his Quene, at time convenient, under their Canabies borne by the Barons of the five Portes, went from the saied Palaice, to Westminster Abbey upon clothe, called vulgarly cloth of Ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled, by the rude and common people, immediatly after their repaire into the Abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred observaunce, and auncient custome his grace with the Quene, were annoynted and crouned, by the Archebusshop of Cantorbury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate multitude of Commons of the same. It was demaunded of the people, whether they would receive, obey, and take the same moste noble Prince, for their kyng, who with greate reverence, love, and desire, saied and cried, ye ye. After the whiche solempnitie, and Coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and temporall, did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the Quenes grace every one under their canabies, where by the lorde Marshall, and his tipped staves, was made rome, and every lord, and other noble men, accordyng to their tenures, before claimed and vewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and

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and other of his graces counsayll, entred into suche rome and office that daie, to execute their services accordyngly. The kynges estate on the right hand, and the Quenes on the left hand, the cobard of ix. stages, their noble personages beyng set: first, at the bryngyng of the first course, the trumpettes blew up. And in came the Duke of Buckyngham, mounted upon a greate courser, richely trapped, and enbroudered, and the lorde Stewarde, in likewise on an horse, trapped in clothe of Golde, ridyng before the service, whiche was sumpteous, with many subtleties, straunge devyses, with severall poses, and many deintie dishes. At the kynges fete, under the table, wer certain gentelmen. And in likewise with the quene, who there continued, during that long and royal feast. What should I speake or write, of the sumpteous fine, and delicate meates, prepared for this high and honorable coronacion, provided for as wel in the parties beyond the sea, as in many and sundery places, within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson? Or of the honorable ordre of the services, the cleane handelyng and breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plentifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there, did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone, went unfeasted. The seconde course beyng served: in at the haule doore entered a knight, armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume and a sumpteous of Oistriche fethers on his helmet, sittyng on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroudered with tharmes of England, and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presented hymself with humble reverence, before the kynges majestie, to whom, Garter kyng of heraulde, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretence? This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered the saied kyng of Armes, in effecte after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from, is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether, is not concernyng any matter, of any place or countrey, but onely this. And there with all, commaunded his Heraulde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here, the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne Herauld, by Proclamacion

to

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to saie: if there be any persone, of what estate or degree soever he be, that wil saie or prove, that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoke here his Champion, offre my glove, to fight in his querell, with any persone to thutteraunce, whiche Proclamacion was made in sundery places of the halle: And at every tyme, his gauntlette caste doune, in the maintenaunce therof. After whiche severall proclamacions doen, and offers made, the said knight or champion, eftsones repaired to the kynges presence, demaundyng drinke, to whom the kynges grace sent a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight had dronke, he demaunded the cover of the saied cuppe, whiche to hym was also delivered: that doen, he departed out of the halle, with the said cup and cover, as his awne.

The maner of his tenure is this, that at the Coronacion of the kyng, he shall go to the armarie, and there take the kynges best herneis, save one, the best and rich bases savyng one, then of the plumes, or other thynges for the garnishyng of his creast or helme, and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse, to the best, with like trapper, and so furnished, to enter ut supra, and his office dooen, to have all these thynges, with the Cuppe of Gold and cover to his awne use.

After the departure of the said Champion, the Kyng of Armes, with all the Herauldes, and other officers of Armes, made Proclamacions in severall places of the halle, criyng largesse. Briefly to passe over, this high and long solempnitie, of this honorable Coronacion and feast, more honorable then of the great Cesar, whom, many Historiographers, so high set out and magnified, if the Latins of Englande, were not promoted or avaunsed, to dignities and promocions, onelesse they firste should (as other poore clerkes, in the parties beyond the sea, exalte and set furthe the jestes and Chronicles, of their native countreys, with high laude and prayse and in some parte more then truth, for small mede or reward doo) put in writyng, either in Englishe or Latin tongue, the noble triumphes, chivalrous feates, valiant actes, victorious battailes, and other noble Jestes of this realme, and in especiall, of our tyme and knowlege, of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appere muche more honorable, then any other stories: But promocion and benefices, putte awaie laboure

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laboure and payne, albeit the grate parte of theim will saie, that the high Cure and charge is to edifie the people, with the word of God, taking cure of the soules: ther against I will not replie, but no displeasure, I perceive that thei take as great cure, for the profite of their pursses, wyth pleasure of huntyng and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they com to the best of their promocion, with smal kepyng of hospitalitie, as other whiche were their predecessors, and muche worse, so that parte of their pastymes spent in writyng, and settyng furth the jestes, actes and deedes, of the nobilitie of Englande, with the manyfold commodities of the same, should muche ennoble the princes thereof, seeyng by dayly experience, Busshoppes, Archebusshoppes, Abbottes, and other clarkes, in the parties beyonde the sea, as well learned, as of high knowlege, and better linage, and as verteous as they, daily enforce theimselfes, to avaunce their Princes, their Realmes, and natyve Countreis, as well in Latin, as in their vulgare toungue. But to returne to thende of this honorable feast, the tables avoyded, the wafers were brought. Then Syr Stephen Jenyns, that tyme Maior of London, whom, the kyng before he satte doune to dynner, had dubbed knight, which, beganne the Erles Table that daie, arose from the place where he satte, to serve the Kyng with Ipocras, in a Cuppe of Golde, whiche Cuppe, after his grace had dronken therof, was with the cover, geven unto the said sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, Maiors of the saied citie, wer wont to have at the Coronacion of the kyng. Then after the Surnap laied, and that the kynges grace, and the Quene had wasshed, every of them under their Clothes of estate, the tables beyng avoyded, went unto their chambers.

For the more honor, and ennobling of this triumphaunt Coronacion, there wer prepared, bothe Justes and Turnies, to be dooen in the Palaice of Westminster, where, for the kynges grace, and the Quene, was framed a faire house, covered with Tapisstrie, and hanged wyth riche clothes of Arras, and in the saied Palaice, was made a curious Fountain, and over it a Castle: on the toppe thereof, a greate Croune Emperiall, all the imbatellyng with Roses, and Pomegranetes gilded: and under and aboute the saied Castle, a curious Vine, the leaves and grapes thereof, gilded with fine Golde, the walles of the same Castle coloured, White and Grene losengis. And in every losenge, either a Rose or a Pomegranet,

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granet, or a Sheffe of Arrowes, or els H. and K. gilded with fine Gold, with certain Arches or Turrettes gilded, to support the same Castle. And the targettes of the armes, of the defendauntes, appoynted for the saied Justes there upon sumpteously set. And out at severall places, of the same Castle, as well the daie of the coronacion as at the said daies of the Justes and Turney, out of the mouthes of certain beastes, or gargels did runne red, white, and claret wine. Thenterprisers of these Justes, was Thomas lorde Haward, heire apparaunt to the erle of Surrey, sir Edward Haward Admirall, his brother, the lorde Richarde, brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmond Haward, sir Thomas Knevet, and Charles Brandon esquire. The trompettes blew to the feld, the fresh yong galantes and noble menne gorgeously appareled, with curious devises, of cuttes and of embrouderies, as well in their coates, as in trappers for their horses, some of gold, some in silver, some in Tynsels, and diverse other in goldesmithes worke, goodly to behold, first entered the feld in takyng up and turnyng their horses, netly and freshly. Then folowed a devise, (caried by strength of menne, and other provision) framed like a Castle, or a Turret, wrought with fine clothe of Gold: the toppe wherof was spred with Roses and Pomegranates, hangyng doune on every side, of the saied devise, wherein was a Lady, bearyng a shilde of Christall named Pallas. After whom, the saied Lorde Haward, with his compaignions folowed, armed at al poyntes, their Basses, and Bardes, or Trappers, were of Grene Velvet, beaten with Roses, and Pomegranates of Golde, brodered with fringes of Damaske Golde. The saied devise or Turret, beyng brought before the kyng, the Lady Pallas, presented the saied persones, whom, she named her scholers, to the kynges highnes, besechyng the same, to accept them as her scholers, who wer desirous to serve hym to the encrease of their honors, whiche saied scholers, had about them on foote, to the nombre of an hundred persones, freshely appareled, in Velvettes of sunderey coloures, with Hose and Bonettes, accordyng to the same. And further, the saied Ladye desired the kyng, that it might please his grace, that her saied scholers, might be defendauntes to al commers whiche request was graunted.

Then came in an other bende of horse men, freshly and well

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well appareled in clothe of gold, in silver, in Goldsmithes worke, and brouderie, to the nombre of three score, with trappers accordingly to their garmentes, with greate Bauderikes, Collers, and Cheines of Golde, aboute their neckes, and traverse their bodies, every man with a coyfe of golde on his hedde, and a greate plume of fethers thereupon, some of one coloure, and some of an other, enteryng before into the felde, with Drommes and Fifes a greate nombre, every man takyng up his horse, in his best maner, as well for their Ladies, as also for laude or prayse to bee geven theim. After whom, folowed a good nombre of footemen, in Velvettes, and other silkes, cutte and embroudered, with hose to the same accordingly, and bonettes and other furniture, after a freshe and lustie fashion. Nexte to theim came on horse backe, eight persones, whose names were, sir Jhon Pechy, Sir Edwarde Nevell, Sir Edwarde Guildeforde, Sir Jhon Carre, Sir Wyllyam Parre, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Roulande, Armed also at all poyntes, with shyldes of their awne armes, with riche Plumes, and other devises on their hedde peces their Bases and Trappers of Tissew, clothe of Golde, Silver and velvet, and nexte before theim, a gentle manne on horsebacke, in a coate of Blewe Velvet, embroudered with golde, and his horse Trapped in the same suite, with a spere of Golde on his thigh, and the same presented to the Quene: saiyng, that it was enformed those knightes of his compaignie, how that Dame Pallas, had presented sixe of her scholers to the kyng, but whether they came to learne, or to teache feactes of Armes, they knewe not. And further declared, that his knightes were come, to doo feactes of armes, for the love of Ladies, wherefore he besought her grace, to license those Knightes to prove theim selfes, agaynst Dame Pallas Schollers: and that in case her Schollers brake more speres, on the sayed knightes, by the viewe of the Judges, and the report of the Heraulides, then the same knightes should dooe on theim, then the saied Scholers of Pallas knightes, to have the spere of Gold for their prise. And if the knightes brake more speres, then Dame Pallas Schollers, the saied knightes to have the Christall Shilde. The whiche request to theim graunted, the Justes beganne, where every manne dyd acquite hym self, well and valiauntly, but who had the

pryce

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pryce of other, I knowe not, the night commyng on, the Justes ended.

The next daie approched, the foresaied defenders, Schollers to Pallas on Horsebacke, armed *Cape a pie*, the one side of their Bases, and Bardes of their Horses white Velvet, embroudered with Roses of gold and other embrouderies, the other side Grene Velvet, embroudered with Pomegranetes of Golde, every one of theim on his hedde pece, had an heare of flatte Golde of Damaske, presented themselfes, before the kyng ready to Tourney.

Dianas knightes.

Then immediatly on the other parte came in, the forenamed eighte knightes ready armed, their Basses and Bardes of their Horse, Grene Sattyn, embroudered with freshe devises, of Bramble branches, of fine Golde curiously wroughte, poudered over all. And after theim a greate nombre of hornes blowen, by menne apparelled in Grene Clothe, with Cappes and Hosen of lyke suite, as Forsters or kepers, and a Pagente made lyke a Parke, paled with pales of White and Grene, wherein wer certain Fallowe Dere, and in the same Parke curious Trees made by crafte, with Busshes, Fernes, and other thinges in lykewyse wroughte, goodly to beholde. The whiche Parke or divyse, beyng brought before the Quene, had certayn gates thereof opened, the Dere ranne out thereof into the Palaice, the greye houndes were lette slippe and killed the Dere: the whiche Dere so killed, were presented to the Quene and the Ladies, by the foresayed knightes. Crocheman, whiche the daye before broughte in the spere of Golde, there declared, that the same knightes were servauntes to Diana, and beeyng in their pastyme of huntyng, newes were brought unto theim, that Dame Pallas knightes, were come into these partes, to doo deedes of armes: wherefore, they had lefte their huntyng and chase, and repaired also thether, to encounter with the knightes of Pallas, and so to fight with them, for the love of ladyes to thutterance: saiyng that yf Pallas knightes vanquyshed the other, or made them to leve the feld, then thei to have the dere killed, and the greye houndes that slewe them. And in case Dianas knightes, overcame the other, they to have their swordes, and none other thyng more. Wherupon the Quene and Ladies, sent to the kyng to have his advyse and pleasure in this behalfe, his grace conceyvyng, that there was some grudge, and

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and displeasure betwene theim, thynkyng if suche request wer to theim graunted, some inconvenience might ensue, would not there unto agree, so, that for the appeasyng thereof, it was awarded that bothe parties, should tourney togethers, gevyng but a certayn strokes, whiche dooen thei departed: And so these Justes brake up, and the prices geven to every man after his disertes.

This yere the kyng pardoned the lorde Henry, brother to the Duke of Buckyngham, beeyng committed to the Tower upon suspicion of treason laied unto hym, but not proved, and sone after at the Parliament, created hym Erle of Wylshire.

Also this yere, the kyng ordeined fiftie Gentle menne to bee speres, every of theim to have an Archer, a Dimilaunce, and a Custrell, and every Spere to have three greate Horses, to bee attendaunt on his persone, of the whiche bende, the Erle of Exssex was Lieuetenaunt, and sir Jhon Pechie Capitain, who endured but a while, the apparell and charges were so greate, for there were none of theim, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Silver, and Golde Smithes woorke, and their servauntes richely appareled also.

This yere also, was a greate Pestilence in the toune of Caleys, and muche people died, in so muche that the kyng, at the request of his counsaill of Caleis, considering the weakenes of the toune, sent thether Sir Jhon Pechie, with three hundred menne to tary there, who continued there unto suche time, that the plague was ceassed, and newe souldiours admitted, to suche roumes as then were vacant, and then returned into Englande. Furthermore, this yere the kyng somoned his Parliament, in the monethe of Novembre, whiche began in the moneth of Januarii ensuyng, whereof sir Thomas Inglefelde was chosen Speaker, in the whiche session emonges other thynges there enacted, it was ordeined by aucthoritie of Parliament, that sir Thomas Empson knighte, and Edmund Dudeley Esquire, late Counsailers to Kyng Henry the seventh, should and wer attainted of hault treason.

The same yere the plague was greate, and reigned in diverse partes of the realme, the kyng kept his Christemas at Richemond. And the xii. daie of Januarie, diverse gentelmen freshely appareled, prepared theim selfes to Juste, unknowen

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knowen to the kinges grace, whereof, he being secretely informed, caused hymself, and one of his privie chambre, called William Compton to bee secretly armed, in the litle Parke of Richemond : and so came into the Justes, unknowen to all persones, and unloked for : The kyng ranne never openly before, and there wer broken many staves, and greate praise geven to the twoo straungers, but specially to one, whiche was the kyng : howebeit, at a course by misfortune, sir Edward Nevell Esquire, brother to the Lorde of Burgayne, did runne against Master Cumpton, and hurte hym sore, and was likely to dye. One persone there was, that knew the kyng, and cried, God save the kyng, with that, all the people wer astonied, and then the kyng discovered himself to the greate comforte of all the people.

The kyng sone after, came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train : And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the numbre of twelve, came sodainly in a mornyng, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, every one of theim, his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like out lawes, or Robyn Hodes men, wherof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng, and after certayn daunces, and pastime made, thei departed. On Shrove Sunday the same yere, the kyng prepared a goodly banket, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadours, whiche, then wer here, out of diverse realmes and countreis. The banket beyng ready, the Kyng leadyng the Quene, entred into the Chambre, then the Ladies, Ambassadours, and other noble menne, folowed in ordre. The Kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and then satte the Ambassadours and Ladyes as they were Marshalled by the kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, makyng chere to the Quene, and the straungers : Sodaynly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fashion, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Velvet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimiteries, hanging by greate bawderikes of gold. Next,

A banket.

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Next, came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin, travarsed with white satin, and in every bend of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fashion of Russia or Ruslande, with furred hattes of grey on their hedes, either of them havyng an hatchet in their handes, and bootes with pykes turned up. And after them, came, syr Edward Haward, than Admyral, and with him sir Thomas Parre, in doblettes of Crimosin velvet, voyded lowe on the backe, and before to the cannell bone, lased on the breastes with chaynes of silver, and over that shorte clokes of Crimosyn satyne, and on their heades hattes after dauncers fashion, with feasauntes fethers in theim : They were appareyled after the fashion of Prusia or Spruce. The torchebearers were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and grene, lyke Moreskoes, their faces blacke : And the kyng brought in a mommerye. After that the Quene, the lordes, and ladyes, such as would had played, the sayd mommers departed, and put of the same apparel, and sone after entred into the Chamber, in their usuell apparell. And so the kyng made great chere to the Quene, ladyes and Ambassadours : The Supper or Banket ended, and the tables avoyded, the kyng beeyng in communicacion with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the ladyes toke their places in their degrees. Then began the daunsyng, and every man toke muche hede to them that daunsed. The kyng perceyving that, withdrewe hym selfe sodenly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle whyle after there came in a drumme and a fife appareiled in white Damaske and grene bonettes, and hosen of the same sute, than certayn gentelmen folowed with torches, apparayled in blew Damaske purseled with Ames grey, facioned lyke an Awbe, and on their heddes hodes with robbes and longe typpettes too the same of blewe Damaske visarde. Then after them came a certayne number of gentelmen, wherof the kyng was one, apparayled all in one sewte of shorte garmentes, litle beneth the poyntes, of blew Velvet and Crymosine with long slyves, all cut and lined with clothe of golde. And the utter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, and shefes of arrowes of fyne doket golde. The upper partes of their hoses of lyke sewte and facion, the nether partes were of Scarlet, poudered with timbrelles of fyne golde, on their heades bonets of Damaske,

Sylver

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Sylver flatte woven in the stole, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fethers in them, all with visers. After them entred vi. ladyes, wherof twoo were apparayled in Crymosyn satyne and purpull, embrowdered with golde and by vynyettes, ran floure delices of gold, with marveilous ryche and straunge tiers on their heades. Other two ladies in Crimosine and purpull, made lyke long slops enbroudered and fret with gold after antyke fashion: and over that garment was a short garment of clothe of golde scant to the kne facioned like a tabard all over, with small double rolles, al of flatte golde of Damaske fret with frysed gold, and on their heades skayns and wrappers of Damaske gold with flatte pypes, that straunge it was to beholde. The other two ladies were in kirtels of Crymosyne and purpull satyn, enbroudered with a vynet of Pomegraneltes of golde, all the garmentes cut compasse wyse, havyng but demy sleves, and naked doune from the elbowes, and over their garmentes were vochettes of pleasauntes, rouled with Crymosyne velvet, and set with letters of gold lyke Carettes, their heades rouled in pleasauntes and typpers lyke the Egipcians, enbroudered with gold. Their faces, neckes, armes and handes, covered with fyne plesaunce blacke: Some call it Lumberdynes, whiche is marveilous thinne, so that the same ladies semed to be nigrost or blacke Mores. Of these foresayed vi. ladies, the lady Mary, syster unto the kyng was one, the other I name not. After that the kinges grace and the ladies had daunsed a certayne tyme they departed every one to his lodgyng.

In this yere kyng Henry the VII. his executours made restitucion of great summes of money, to many persons taken against good conscience to the sayde kynges use, by the forenamed Empson and Dudley.

This yere also came Ambassadours from the kyng of Arragon and Castell into this Realme, who were hyghly entertayned and royally receyved, and repayred muche to the Courte. It happened on a daye, that there were certayne noble men made a wager to runne at the rynge, and parties were taken, and whiche partye atteyned or toke awaye the rynge oftnest with a certayne courses, should wynne the wager. Whereof, the kynges grace hearyng, offered to be on the one partie with vi. companions: The Ambassadours hearyng therof, were muche desirous to see thys wager tried,

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tried, and specially the Ambassadours of Spaigne, who had never sene the kyng in harneis. At the day appointed, the kyng was mounted on a goodly Courser, trapped in purpul velvet cutte, the inner syde whereof was wrought with flatte golde of Damaske in the stoole, and the velvet on the other syde cut in letters: So that the gold appered as though it had bene enbroudered with certayne reasons or poyses. And on the Velvet betwene the letters were fastened, castels and shefes of arrowes of doket golde, with a garment, the sleves compased over hys harneys, and his bases of the same worke, with a greate plume of fethers on his head pece, that came doune to the arson of his sadell, and a great company of fresh gentlemen, came in with his grace rychely armed and decked, with many other right gorgeously appareiled, the trompettes before them, goodly to beholde, wherof many straungers, but specially the Spaigniardes much rejoysing, for they had never sene the king before that tyme armed.

On the other syde came in an other bende of gentlemen, freshely appareyled, and pleasaunt to beholde, all appareyled in clothe of gold, chekered with flatte golde of Damaske, and poudered with Roses: and so every man ranne, but to conclude, the pryce was geven unto the kyng. Every man did runne twelve courses, the kyng did beare away the ring v. tymes, and atteyned it thre: and these courses thus fynished, the Spanish Ambassadours desyred to have some of the badges or devises, whiche were on the kynges trapper: his grace therof knowing, commaunded every of them to take therof what it pleased them, who in effect toke all or the more parte: for in the beginning they thought they had bene counterfait, and not of golde.

In this yere from divers Realmes and Countreys came many Ambassadours, of Fraunce, Denmarke, Scotlande, and other Realmes, whiche were highly enterteyned.

THE SECOND YERE.

ON May daye, then next folowyng in the ii. yere of his reygne, hys grace beyng yonge, and wyllyng not to be idell, rose in the mornynge very early to fetche May or grene bows, hym selfe freche and rychely appareyled,

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appareyled, and clothed all his Knyghtes, Squiers and Gentelmen in whyte Satyn, and all hys Garde and Yomen of the Croune in white sarcenet: and so went every man with his bowe and arrowes shotyng to the wood, and so repaired againe too the Courte, every man with a grene bough in his cappe, and at hys returnyng, many hearynge of his goynge a Maiyng, were desyrous to see hym shote, for at that tyme hys grace shotte as stronge and as greate a length as any of his garde. There came to his grace a certain man with bowe and arrowes, and desyred his grace to take the muster of hym, and to se hym shote: and at that tyme hys grace was contented, the man put his one fote in his bosome, and so did shote, and shot a very good shote, and well towardes his marke, wherof not onely his grace but all other greatly merveyled. So the kyng gave hym a rewarde for his so doyng, whiche persone afterwardes of the people and of them in the courte was called fote in bosome.

The same yere in the feaste of Pentecoste, holden at Grenewyche, that is to saye the Thursday in the same weke, hys grace with two other with hym chalenged all commers, to fyghte with theim at the barriers with targot and casting the spere of viii. fote long, and that done his grace with the sayed two aides to fight every of them xii. strokes with two handed swordes, with and against all commers, none except being a gentelman, where the kyng behaved hym selfe so wel, and delivered hym selfe so valiauntly by his hardy prowes and greate strengthe that the prayse and laude was geven to his grace, and his aides: Notwithstanding that divers valiaunt and strong persons had assailed hym and his aides.

From thence the whole Courte removed to Wyndesore, then begynning his progresse, exercisyng hym selfe daily in shotyng, singing daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in settyng of songes, makyng of ballettes, and did set ii. goodly masses, every of them fyve partes, whiche were song oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diverse other places. And whan he came to Okyng, there were kept bothe Justes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng, and shotyng.

Empson and Dudley behedded.

The kyng beyng thus in hys progresse harde every daye more and more complaintes of Empson and Dudley, wherfore

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fore he sent wrytes to the Shyryfes of London, to put them in execucion, and so the xviii. day of August, they were both behedded at the Towre hyll, and their bodies buried and their heades.

The saied progresse finished, his grace, the Quene, with all their whole trayne, in the moneth of October folowyng, removed to Grenewyche. The kyng not mynded to se young Gentelmen, unexpert in marcial feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grenewych for the Quene and the ladies to stande and se the fyght with battaill axes that should be done there, where the kyng hym selfe armed, fought with one Gyot a Gentelman of Almayne, a talle man, and a good man of armes. And than after they had done, they marched alwaye two and twoo togethers, and so dyd their feates and enterpryces every man very well: Albeit, it happened the sayed Gyot to fyght with Sir Edward Haward, whiche Gyot was by hym stryken to the grounde.

The morow after this enterprise done, the Kyng with the Quene came to the Towre of London. And to thentent that there shoulde no displeasure nor malice be borne by any of those Gentelmen, whiche fought with the axe agaynst other. The kyng gave unto them a certain summe in golde, valewed at cc. marke, to make a banket amongest them selfes with all: The whiche banket was made at the Fishemongers Halle in Teames strete, where they all met to the number of foure and twenty, al apareiled in one sute or livery, after Almain fashion, that is to say, their utter garmentes all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes girdels scaberdes, and bonettes with yealow fethers, their garmentes and hosen al cutte and lyned with white Satyn, and their scaberdes wound abought with Satyne: After their banket ended, they went by torche light to the towre, presenting them selfes before the kyng, who toke pleasure to beholde them.

From thence, the viii. day of November, his grace removed to Rychemond, and willed to be declared to al noble men and gentelmen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit master Charles Brandon, and master Compton, duryng two dayes would aunswere all commers with spere at the Tilt one daye, and at turney with swordes, the other.

And to accomplyshe this enterprice the xiii. daye of November,

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November, hys grace armed at all peces with his twoo aydes entred the fielde, their bases and trappers were of clothe of golde, set with redde Roses, ingreyled with golde of broudery: The counter parte came in freshly, appareyled every man after his devise. At these Justes the kyng brake more staves then any other, and therfore had the pryce: At the Turney in lykewyse, the honour was his. The second night were divers straungers of Maximilian the Emperours court, and Ambassadours of Spaygne with the kyng at supper: when they had supped, the kyng willed them to go into the Quenes chamber, who so dyd. And in the meane season, the kynge with xv. other, appareled in Almayne Jackettes of Crymosyn, and purple Satyn, with long quartered sleves, with hosen of the same sute, their bonettes of whyte Velvet, wrapped in flat golde of Damaske, with vysers and whyte plumes, came in with a momery, and after a certayne tyme that they had played with the Quene and the straungers, they departed. Then sodenly entred syx mynstrels, rychely appareled, plaiyng on their instrumentes, and then folowed xiiii. persones Gentelmen, all appareyled in yealowe Satyne, cut lyke Almaynes, bearyng torches. After them came vi. disguised in whyte Satyne and grene, enbroudered and set with letters and castels of fyne golde in bullion, the garmentes were of straunge facion, with also straunge cuttes, every cutte knytte with poyntes of fyne golde, and tassels of the same, their hosen cutt and tyed in lykewyse, their bonettes of clothe of sylver, wounde wyth golde. Fyrst of these vi. was the kyng, the erle of Essex, Charles Brandon, Sir Edward Hawarde, syr Thomas Knevet, and syr Henry Guylforde. Then part of the Gentlemen bearyng torches departed, and shortly returned, after whome came in vi. ladies, appareled in garmentes of Crymosyne Satyn enbroudered and travessed with clothe of gold, cut in Pomegranettes and yokes, strynged after the facion of Spaygne. Then the sayed vi. men daunced with these vi. ladies: and after that they had daunced a season the ladies toke of the mens visars, whereby they were knowen: Whereof the Quene and the straungers muche praysed the kynge, and ended the pastyme.

It is to be noted that at this tyme the Quene was great with chylde, and shortly after this pastyme, she toke her chamber at Rychemond, for the whiche cause the kynge kept

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kept his Christmas there. And on Newyeres day, the fyrst day of January, the Quene was delivered of a Prince to the great gladnes of the Realme, for the honour of whom, fyers were made, and diverse vessels with wyne, set for suche as woulde take therof in certaine streates in London, and generall processions thereupon too laude God. As touchyng the preparacion of the Princes Christenyng, I overpasse, which was honourably done, whose godfathers at the font were the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and the erle of Surrey, Godmother the lady Katherine Countesse of Devonshyre, Daughter to kynge Edward the fourth.

Agaynst the xii. daye or the daie of the Epiphanie at nyghte, before the banket in the Hall at Rychemond, was a pageaunt devised lyke a mountayne, glisteryng by nyght, as though it had bene all of golde and set with stones, on the top of the whiche mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and bowes frysed with gold, spreding on every side over the mountayne, with roses and Pomegranettes, the whiche mountayn was with vices brought up towardes the kyng, and out of the same came a ladye, appareiled in clothe of golde, and the children of honour called the Henchemen, whiche were freshly disguysed, and daunced a Morice before the kyng. And that done, reentred the mountayne, and then it was drawen backe, and then was the wassaill or banket brought in, and so brake up Christmas.

Shortly after, and before the Quenes churchynge, the kyng rode too Walsingham. The Quene being churched or purified, the kyng and she removed from Rychemond to Westminster, where was preparacion for a solempne Justes in the honour of the Quene, the kyng being one, and with hym thre aydes: his grace being called *Cure loial*, the lorde William erle of Devonshire, called *Bon voloire*, Sir Thomas Knevet named *Bonespoir*, Sir Edwarde Nevile, called *Valiaunt desire*, whose names were set upon a goodly table, and the table hanged in a tree, curiously wrought, and they were called *Les quater Chivalers de la forrest salvigne*, these foure to runne at the tilte against all commers, with other certayn Articles comprised in the said table.

A place in the Pallayce was prepared for the kynge, and also the Quene, rychely hanged, the inner parte with cloth of golde, and the utter with ryche clothe of Arras. These Justes beganne the xiii. daye of February. After that, that the

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the Quene with her trayne of ladyes had taken their places, into the Palays was conveyed a pageaunt of a greate quantitie, made like a forest with rockes, hylles and dales, with divers sundrie trees, floures, hathornes, ferne and grasse, with six forsters, standynge within the same forrest, garnished in cotes and hodes of grene Velvet, by whome lay a greate number of speres, all the trees, herbes, and floures, of the same forrest were made of grene Velvet, grene Damaske, and Silke of divers colours, Satyn and Sercenet. In the middes of this forrest was a castell standing, made of golde, and before the Castell gate sat a gentelman freshly appareiled, makyng a garlande of Roses for the pryce. This forrest was drawen, as it were, by strength of twoo great beastes, a Lyon and an Antelop, the Lyon florished all over with Damaske golde. The Antelop was wrought all over with sylver of Damaske, his beames and hornes and tuskes of golde: these beastes were led with certayne men appareiled like wilde men, or woodhouses, their bodies, heddes, faces, handes, and legges, covered with grene Silke flosshed: On either of the saied Antelop and Lyon, sate a ladye rychely appareiled, the beastes were tied to the pageaunt with great chaynes of golde, as horses be in the carte. When the pageaunt rested before the Quene the forenamed forsters blew their hornes, then the devise or pageant opened on all sydes, and out issued the foresaied foure knyghtes, armed at all peces, every of them a spere in his hande on horsebacke with great plumes on their heddes, their basses and trappers of clothe of golde, every of them his name enbroudered on his basse and trapper: on the other parte with great noyse, aswell of Trompettes as of Drommes entred into the fielde. The erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Hawarde with many other cleane armed, their trappers and basses all of Crymosyn Satyn enbroudered with braunches of Pomegarnettes of golde, and posies with many a freshe Gentelman, rydyng before them, their fotemen also well appareiled: And so the Justes beganne, and endured all that daye.

The morow beyng the xiii. daye of February after dynner, at tyme convenient, the Quene with the ladyes repaired to see the Justes, the trompettes blew up, and in came many a Noble man and Gentelman, rychely appareiled, takynge up their horses, after whome folowed certayne lordes appareiled, thei

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thei and their horses in clothe of golde and russet tynsell: Knyghtes in clothe of golde and russet Velvet. And a greate number of Gentelmen on fote, in russet satyn and yealow, and yomen in russet Damaske and yealow, all the nether parte of every mans hosen Skarlet, and yealow cappes. Then came the kyng under a Pavilion of clothe of golde, and purpull Velvet enbroudered, and poudered with H. and K. of fyne golde, the compas of the Pavilion above, enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat golde, beten in wyre, with an Imperiall croune in the top of fyne golde, his bases and trapper of clothe of gold, fretted with Damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the tail. A crane and chafron of stele, in the frount of the chafron was a goodly plume set full of musers or trimblyng spangles of golde. After folowed his three aydes, every of them under a Pavilion of Crymosyn damaske, and purple poudred with H. and K. of fyne golde, valenced and frynged with golde of damaske: on the top of every Pavilion a greate K. of golde smythes worke, the number of the Gentelmen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yealow was C. lxviii. Then next these Pavilions came twelve children of honor, sitting every of them on a greate courser, rychely trapped and enbroudered in severall devises and facions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldsmythes worke, so that every child and horse in device and facion was contrary to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the counter part, entred Sir Charles Brandon, firste on horsebacke in a long robe of russet Satyn, lyke a recluse or a religious person and his horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsye, puttynge a byl of peticion to the Quene, the effect wherof was, that if it would please her to licence hym to runne in her presence, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that his request was graunted, then he put of hys sayed habyte, and was armed at all peces with ryche bases and horse, also rychely trapped, and so did runne his horse to the tylte end, where divers men on fote appareiled in russet satyn awaited on hym: next after came in alone young Henry Guylford Esquier, hym selfe and his horse in russet clothe of golde and clothe of sylver, closed in a device, or a pageant made lyke a Castell or a Turret, wrought of Russet cercenet florence, wrought, and

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and set out in golde with hys worde or posye, and all his men in Russet satyn and white, with hosen to the same, and their bonettes of lyke colours, demaunding also licence of the Quene to runne, whiche to hym graunted toke place at thende of the tylte. Then came next the Marques Dorset and syr Thomas Bulleyn, lyke two pilgrems from saint James, in taberdes of blacke Velvet, with palmers hattes on their helmettes, wyth long Jacobs staves in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke Velvet, their taberdes, hattes, and trappers set with scaloppe schelles of fine golde, and strippes of blacke Velvet, every strip set with a scalop shell, their servauntes al in blacke Satyn, with scalop shelles of gold in their breastes. Sone after came in the lorde Henry of Buckyngham Erle of Wylshire, hym selfe and his horse appareiled in clothe of sylver, enbroudered with a posye, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a posye, called *La maison du refuge*, made of Crymosyn damaske, broudered with Roses and arrowes of golde, on the tope a greyhonde of sylver, bearynge a tree of Pomegarnettes of golde, the braunches therof were so large that it over sprede the pagent in all partes. Then entred Syr Gyles Capel, Syr Rouland with many other knightes, rychely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the Justes, whiche was valiauntly acheved by the kyng and his aides, emonges whome his grace atteyned the pryce. The Justes fynyshed, every man with drew, the kynge was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the Quene heard evensong, and that night all the Ambassadours supped with the kyng, and had a great banket. After supper, his grace with the Quene, Lordes and Ladies came into the white Hall, within the sayed Pallays, whiche was hanged rychely, the Hall was scafolded and rayled on al partes. There was an interlude of the Gentelmen of his Chapell before his grace, and divers fresh songes: That done, his grace called to hym a greate man, or a lorde of Ireland called Odonell, whome in the presence of the Ambassadours, he made knyght: Then mynstrels beganne to playe, the Lordes and Ladies beganne to daunce.

And in the mooste of this pastime, when all persones were moste attentyve to behold the daunsyng, the kyng was sodenly gone unknowen to the moste parte of the people there, oneles it were of the Quene and of certayne other. Within

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Within a littell whyle after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the Hall began to blowe. Then was there a device or a pageaunt upon wheles brought in, out of the whiche pageaunt issued out a gentelman rychely appareiled, that shewed, how in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies, muche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Quene and ladies, if they might be licenced so to do, who was answered by the Quene, how she and all other there were very desirous to se theim and their pastime: then a greate clothe of Arras that did hange before the same pageaunt was taken awaye, and the pageaunt brought more nere, it was curiously made and plesaunt to beholde, it was solempne and ryche, for every post or piller therof, was covered with fryse golde, therein were trees of Hathorne, Eglantines, Rosiers, Vines and other plesaunt floures of divers colours, with Gillofers and other herbes all made of Satyn, damaske, silke sylver and gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In whiche arber were vi. ladies, all apparailed in white satyn and grene, set and enbroudered full of H. and K. of golde, knitte together with laces of golde, of damaske, and al their garmentes were replenished with glitteryng spangles gylt over, on their heddes were bonettes al opened at the iiii. quarters, overfrysed with flat gold of damaske, the orrellettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, so that the golde shewed thorow the lampas douck, the fassis of their head set full of new devised facions: in this garden, also was the kyng and v. with him appareyled in garmentes of purpul satyn, al of cuttes with H. and K. every edge garnished with frysed golde, and every garment ful of poysees, made of letters of fine golde in bullion as thicke as they might be, and every persone had his name in like letters of massy gold. The fyrst *Cuer loyall.* The second *Bone voloyre*, in the iii. *Bone espoier*, The iiii. *Valyaunt desyre*, The fyft *Bone foy*, The vi. *Amoure loyall*, their hosen, cappes, and cotes, were ful of poises and H. and K. of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scace apere and yet was in every voyde place spangels of gold. When time was come, the said pageaunt was brought forth into presence, and then discended a lorde and a lady by coples, and then the mynstrels, which were disguised, also daunced, and the lorde and ladies daunced, that it was a pleasure to beholde.

In

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In the meane season the pagiaunt was conveyed to the ende of the place, there to tary tyll the daunces were fynyshed, and so to have receyved the Lordes and Ladies againe, but sodainly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagent, so that the Lorde Stuard nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde have foughten and drawen bloud, and so was this pagent broken.

After the kyng and his compaignions had daunced, he apointed the ladies, gentelwomen and the Ambassadours to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, whiche thing the common people perceyvyng, ranne to the kyng, and striped hym into his hosen and doublet, and all his compaignions in likewyse. Sir Thomas Knevet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost his apparell. The ladies likewyse were spoyled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and put the people backe, or els as it was supposed more inconvenience had ensued. So the kyng with the Quene and the ladyes returned into his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that, all that was taken away was but for honoure, and larges : and so this triumphe ended with myrth and gladnes. At this banket, a shypman of London caught certayne letters which he sould to a goldsmyth for iii.l. xiiii.s. viii.d. by reason wherof, it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.

After this great joye came sorowfull chaunce, for the young Prynce, whiche was borne upon newyeres daye last past, upon the two and twenty daye of February, beyng then the even of Saint Mathy, departed this worlde at Rychemond, and from thense was caried to Westmynster, and buryed.

The kyng lyke a wyse Prynce, toke this dolorous chaunce wonderous wysely, and the more to comfort the Quene, he dissimuled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardely : but the Quene lyke a naturall woman, made muche lamentacion, how be it, by the kynges good persuasion and behaviour, her sorow was mytigated, but not shortlye. This yere also in the moneth of Februarie, came from kyng Ferdinando, the kynges father in lawe, and kynge of Arragon and Castell certayne Ambassadours, whiche made request to the kyng, on the behalfe of the kyng their master, to have ayde of the kyng of fyften hundred Archers, with valiaunt Capitaynes

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Capitaynes to governe and conduyte them: For his entent was to make warre on the Moores, beyng Infideles and enemies to Gods law. The kyng and his counsayll hearyng this request, thoughte it muche honourable to ayde a Christian Prynce, and in especiall his frende and father in lawe, agaynst the infideles enemies to Christes lawe, wherfore the kyng gentely graunted them their request. When tydinges were spread in the courte of this journey against the infideles, the lorde Thomas Darcye, knyght of the order of the gartier, made humble suyte to the kynge, to be capitayne generall of that Crewe or armye. The kyng and hys counsaill for his greate valiauntnes and approved wysedome graunted his request: many lordes and knyghtes made suite to be in the same jorney, but the kyng aunswered them, that he retained them still for other greater consideracions and purposes. There were appointed to go with the saied lorde Darcie, lorde Antony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorset, Henry Guyldeford, Weston, Broune, Willyam Sydney, Esquiers of the kynges house, syr Robert Constable, syr Roger Haystynges, and syr Raufe Elderkare, and divers other gentelmen to be capitaines. The lorde Darcie and all the other Capitaynes toke their leve of the kyng, and went into their countreis to provide for all thynges mete and necessary for the voiage.

The kyng this tyme was muche entysed to playe at tennys and at dice, which appetite, certain craftie persons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchemen and Lombardes, to make wagers with hym, and so he lost much money, but when he perceived their craft, he excheuyd their compaigny, and let them go. The kyng beyng lusty, young, and couragious, greatly delited in feates of chyvalrie, in so much that he made a chalenge of Justes, againste all commers to be proclaimed at his mannoure of Grenewyche, to be holden there the iii. first daies of May then next ensuyng, whiche noble courage, all younge persones highly praysed, but the auncient fathers muche doubted, considering the tender youth of the kyng, and divers chaunces of horses and armure: in so much that it was openly spoken, that stele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse coulde be so sure of fote, but he may fall: Yet for all these doubtes, the lusty prince proceded in his chalenge.

The first daye of Maye the Kynge accompaignied with many

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many lusty Batchelers, on greate and well doyng horses rode to the woode to fetche May, where a man might have sene many a horse raysed on highe, with galope, turne and stoppe, marveylous to behold: where he and thre other as syr Edward Haward, Charles Brandon, and Edward Nevel, which were chalengers with the kyng, shyfted themselfes into cotes of grene Satyn, garded with Crymosyn Velvet. On the other parte the Earles of Essex, of Devenshyre, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Haward, were all in Crymosyn Satyn, garded with a pounced garde of grene Velvet: and as they were returning on the Hyll, met with them a shippe under-sayle: The master hayled the kyng and that noble compaignie, and saied that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a straunge porte, and came hither to se if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrey, of the whiche he might make report therof in other countreis. An Heraulde demaunded the name of his shyppe, he aunswered she is called *Fame*, and is laden with good *Renoune*: Then sayed the Heraulde, if you wil bring your shippe into the bay of *Hardines*, you must double the poynt of *Gentilnes*, and there you shall se a compaignie that wyll medle with your marchaundise. Then sayed the kyng, sythen Renowne is their marchaundyse, let us bye it and we can: Then the shippe shotte a pele of Gunys, and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, ful of flagges and banners, till it came to the tilte yearde. At after none, the kyng and his thre felowes entred into the fielde, their bardes and bases of Crymosyn and blew velvet, cut in quadrant cuttes, enbroudered full of Pomgranettes, and all the wayters, in sylke of the same coloure. The other partie were in Crymosyn Satyn and grene velvet. Then began the trompettes to sounde, and the horses to runne that many a spere was brast, and many a great stripe geven: and for truthe the kyng exceded in number of staves all other, every day of the iii. daies. Wherfore on the iii. day, the quene made a great banket to the kyng, and all them that had Justed: And after the banket done, she gave the chefe price to the kyng, the ii. to the erle of Essex, the iii. to the erle of Devonshyre, and the iiii. to the Lorde Marques Dorset. Then the Heraulde cried, my lordes, for your noble feates in armes, God sende you the love of your ladies that you moste desire.

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THE THYRD YERE.

THE kyng ever desirous to serve Mars, began an other Justes the xv. day of the saied moneth: the kyng and his bend were all in grene sylke, and the erle of Essex and his bende in blew, garded with gold, and all the speres were paynted of the same colours. There was good running and many a spere brast, but for al the sport every man feared, lest some yll chaunce might happen to the kyng, and fayne would have had him a loker on, rather then a doer, and spake therof as much as thei durst: but his courage was so noble that he would ever be at the one ende.

In this passe tyme, the lord Darcy and other appoynted to the vyage agaynst the Moores of Barbaria (at the instaunce of Donpefernando father to the Quene) made suche diligence, that they and all their people were ready at Plymmouth by the myddes of May, and there mustered their souldiers before the lorde Broke, and other the kynges commissioners. The sayed lorde Darcie, as Capitayne generall ordeined for hys Provost Marshall, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty youngman, and well beloved of the kyng. Then, when the winde served to their purpose, and all the armie were set aborde in their shippes, whiche were vytailed and prest at all pointes, the Capitayn and other departed out of Plymmouth haven, the monday in the Rogacion weke with iiii. shippes Royall and the wind was so favourable to them, that the first day of June, beynge the even of the feaste of Pentecost, he arrived at the porte of Caleys in Southspayne, and immediatly by the advice of his counsayll, dispatched to the kyng of Arragon two Gentelmen, called Jhon Barthelmew, and Willyam Symonde, with letters to certefie the kyng and his counsaill of their arrivall, and what payne they had taken to come to his countrey, in fulfyllyng the kyng their masters commaundement. The messengers did so muche that they came to the kyng, beside the citie of Cyvill, where he then laye, and declared to hym how the lorde Darcie by the kyng their masters appointement, was come thither with xvi. C. archers mo, accordyng to the saied kyng of Arragons

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Arragons request, and laye still at Caleys to know his pleasure. The kyng of Arragon aunswered them gentelly, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from hys moste best beloved sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked theim of theyr paynes, and prayed the messengers to returne to their capitayne shewyng hym that the kyng in all haste would sende his counsail to him, and so they departed from the kyng, and made reporte to the lorde Darcie, whiche kept his shippe in great estate, and would not lande, but only suffered suche as were sicke and feble, and few other to go a lande.

The Englyshmen whiche went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wines and were scace masters of theim selfes, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hedges, and spoyled orchardes and vyneyardes, and orynges before they were rype, and did many other outragious dedes: wherfore the chefe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the lorde Darcie in hys shippe, whiche sent forth his Provost Marshall, which scacelie with peyne refrayned the yomen archers, they were so hote and wyllfull, yet by commaundement and policie, they were al brought on borde on their shippes.

Saterdaye the eight daye of June, the Byshop of and other of the kynges counsaill, arryved at Caleys, and there abode tyll wednysdaye, beyng the even of Corpus Christy, at whiche daye the lord Capitayne toke lande, and was honourably received of the kynge of Arragons counsayll, and on the morow highly fested at dynner and supper. And after supper, the Byshop declared the kyng of Arragons pleasure saiyng: my lorde Capitayne, the kyng my master in mooste humble wyse geveth you thankes for your greate paynes and travell, as muche as though he proceded in this pretensed enterpryce, but he with the advice of his counsayll circumspectly, consideryng the suertie of his awne realmes and dominions hathe perfectie knowlege, that his adversarye of Fraunce, prepareth to invade hys countreis in hys absence: wherfore he entendyng not to leve his Realmes, voyde of men and shyppes (whiche myght be a great comfort to his enemies to invade) and therfore he hathe taken an abstinence of warre with the Moores tyll another tyme. Well sayed the lorde Darcie, sythe it is fully concluded that we shall do no service to your Master, we maye not saye agaynst his determinacion, consyderyng we were sent to hym,

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hym, but surely it is agaynste my hart, whiche ever hath desired to fyght agaynst Goddes enemies, but with your conclusion, I and all myne muste be content. You do as you should do, saied the Byshop, and the kynge my master geveth lyke thankes to the kynge his sonne, and to you all, as though he had proceded in his journey. And you shall have wages for all your souldiers: And if it shall please you to come to the court, you shall receyve hygh thankes of the kyng, and suche chere as there can be made you. That is not my desyre sayed the Lorde Darcie, for my men shall not saye that I brought them out of their countrey, and nowe to do my selfe pleasure, leave theim without an hedde, as men of men forsaken: Nay nay my lorde, the kynges banket is not my desyre. So the lordes departed for the night, and the next dai in the morning was sent wages, to conduict tharmie into England, with diverse giftes geven to the lord Darcie, and other gentle men: Yet that notwithstanding, he was highly displeased, how beit like a wise man he dissimuled the matter.

The same daie, beyng the xiiii. daie of June and Fridaie, an Englishe man desired of a maide, that had been at the Bakers to bye bread for her maistres store and not to sell, to have a lofe for his money, she aunswered, that she had none to sell, he said he would have one, and folowed her, and when she perceived that, she cried, a force a force, the tounes men of Caleis, or Caleis males, sodainly rong their common bell, and al the toune went to harneis, and the fewe Englishemen that wer on land went to their bowes. The Spaniardes cast dartes, and sore anoyed and hurt the Englishmen: and thei likewise hurt and slew diverse Spanyardes. Then the Capitaines of Englande for their part, and the lordes of the Counsaill for their parte, toke suche pain, that the fraie was seased, and but one Englisheman slain, and of the Spanyardes diverse slain.

Then all Englishe men were commaunded to go aborde wyth theyr shippes. The lordes of Spayne came to the lorde Darcie, saiyng: Sir, we praie you, sithe you knowe the kynges pleasure and have your wages, that you with all your people will go with your shippes awaie, for we perceive you owe us some displeasure. Then he boldly answered saiyng, that he woulde al the worlde knew, that he was as able to conduit his menne homewarde, as he was to bryng theim

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theim out of their countrey, without the kyng of Arragons wages, (savyng his honor) and as for the fraie, it was agaynst his will and without his knowlege: and so that night he and all his men, went aborde with theyr shippes.

When this jorney was come to this poynt, Henry Guilforde, Weston, Browen, and Willyam Sidney, young and lustie Esquires, desired license to see the Courte of Spayne, whiche was to theim graunted: and then thei departed from Caleis, and came to the Courte of the kyng of Arragon, wher thei wer highly entertained, and he dubbed Henry Guildford, Weston, and Browne, knightes, and gave to sir Henry Guilford a Canton of Granado, and to sir Weston, and Browne, an Egle of Scicile on a cheffe to the augmentacion of their armes: William Sidney, so excused himself, that he was not made knight, and when thei had sojornied ther a while, they tooke their leave of the kyng and quene, and so returned through Fraunce into England, wher they demained themselfes so, that thei had the kynges favoure, notwithstanding it was thought contrary.

Duryng whiche season the lorde Darcie, the xvii. daie of June made saile towarde England, and arived at Plimmouthe, and came to the kyng at Wyndsore, and in August thus ended this voyage.

Duryng the time that the Lorde Darcie was in Spayne, the Ladie Margaret Duches of Savoy, and daughter to Maximilian themperor, and governor of the countreis of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, Zelande and other the lowe countres apperteinyng to Charles the yong prince of Castell, then beyng of tendre age, sent in thend of Maii to the kynge of England to have xv. c. archers, to aide her against the duke of Geldres which sore trobled the countreis aforsaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the request of so noble a lady, and also because there was a communication hangyng at their time of mariage, to be had betwene the young Prince Charles, and the lady Marie his sister, moste jently graunted her request and appoynted sir Edward Powninges knight of the garter, and comptroller of his house, a valiant capitain and a noble warrior, to be the lieuetenaunt and conductor of the saied xv. c. archers, whiche accompanied with the lord Clinton his sonne in lawe, sir Mathew Browne, sir Jhon Dighby, Jhon Werton, Richard Whethrill, Sherley Esquires and diverse tall gentelmen and yomen,

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yomen, wel knowen men and tried, to the said nombre of xv. c. toke their shipping a mile beside Sandwiche, the xviii. daie of July, and landed at Arinew the xix. daie, not without some troble by reason of a litle storme, and sent Lancaster Herauld to advertise the lady of their arrivall, which sent to them lord Bresley knight of the Toyson, and diverse other to welcome them, and so conduited them to Barow, where the lorde of the toune made theim great chere. And the same daie at after none, came the lady Margaret to Barow, where the capitain with al his under capitaines received her at the gate, she welcomed them hartely, and so she did all the souldiers whiche stode along reinged in the strete. And on saterdaie beyng the xxvi. daie of July, she sawe al the company shote, and the same night the capitayn and other toke his leave of her, and the morowe beeyng sondaie departed to Rossindale, and so on thursday the last day of July came to Buldike, and that daie the ladie Margaret came thether. And the next daie, the whole army of Almaines, Fleminges, and other aperteignyng to the saied lady, met with thenglishmen without Buldike, where thei set furth in ordre, the lady Margaret being present: which toke her leve of all the capitaines and departed to Buldike, whome sir Edwarde Pownynges conduited to the toune gate, and after returned to tharmy. Tharmie to the nombre of x. M. of the ladies parte and xv. c. Englishmen passed through Brabant, and came the x. dai of August beyng s. Laurence daie, before a litle castle standyng on the higher side of the river of Mase called Brimuoyst strongly Bulwarked, in the whiche wer c. men belongyng to the bastard of Gelders, with a capitaine called Lankessell van Gelder, whiche robbed and spoyled all the parties of Brabant. Thei within shot fiersly at tharmy as it passed by, and did them litle hurte. The same night Thomas Hert chief gonner of thenglish part, made his approch of his ordenaunce, and in the morning bet doune as much as might be beaten doune for the bulwarkes, and the next daie beyng the xi. of August the castle was assaulted valiantly, and taken by force, and the capitain and lxxx. and od men were slain and xix. taken, of the whiche xi. wer hanged, Jhon Morton capitain of c. Englishmen, and one Guiot an esquire of Burgoyn crieng Burgoyn S. George: there was one Englishman slain and no more.

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On thursdaie the xiiii daie, tharmie feried over the river of Mase into the land of Geldres, and there sojornied at a litle churche, of our ladye daie the Assumpcion that night, and the nexte daie thei came to a toune called Aiske, belongyng to the Bastarde Geldres: where all the people wer fled, and there was undermined and caste doune, a litle castle standyng of the sayd river newly edified.

The xx. of August thei brent the toune of Aiske, and brent al the countrey about, and came at last to a toune called Straulle, a strong toune double diked and walled, and within it iii. C. lx. good men of warre beside the inhabitauntes, whiche at the firste commyng shot Gonnes fiercely and hurte many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Pounynges, whiche ever was in the forward with his archers, caused fagottes to be made, and trenches to be digged and cast and his men wer so diligent, that his trenche in the mornyng approched so nye the toune gate, that thei within wer halfe dismaied: and desired to speake with the Lordes, and so thei did. And on S. Barthelmewes even, were sixe men sent out of the toune to treate, and sixe hostages delivered for theim, and then it was agreed that all men of warre should departe with a white sticke in their handes, and to forfet all other thynges, and al the toune dwellers to bee prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castle. The next daie, after the men of warre were departed, erly in the morning sir Jhon Dighby knight, and Jhon Norton Esquire, toke possession of the toune with CC. English menne: and at after None the Admiral of Flaunders, sir Edward Pounynges, and the lorde Discilstain, chief capitaines of tharmie, with all other noble men, with Trumpettes, and Arthois and Lancaster, and Ostriche, officers at armes in their coates of armes before theim gorgeously apareled, entered the toune, and in the toune hall, toke thothe of thinhabitantes, and that night returned to their armie.

The xxvi. daie of the same moneth, sir Jhon Dighby, and Jhon Norton, came out of the toune with al their Englishmen, and for them entered a capitain called Yonker Otes, with CC.l. Almaines, to kepe there a garrison, the whiche daie the armie went before Venlow and sent Artois with a trumpet to somon the toune: but thei would not here them speke, but shot gunnes at theim. The xxviii. daie, the armye

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armye removed unto the Northside of Venlow, and part went over the water and made trenches to the water. The capitain of the Englishemen made trenches even to the toune diche, and the artilerie bet doune the towers of the walles, and every daie was some skirmishe. And the xxix. daie as certain Englishemen went a foragyng, it happened x. of sir Jhon Dighbes men to go v. mile from the armie, and to mete with xxiiii. horsmen of Geldres which set on them, but they withdrew themselfes into a litle garden, and shot at their enemies, and slewe two horsmen and v. horses, gauled and hurte many of them, discomfited the remnant, and brought two great horses to tharmie, and every man was sore hurte, but in no perel of death thanked be God. The siege thus continuyng, not without skirmishes xxix. daies sir Edward Pounynges, and sir Jhon Dighby dined with monsire de Rony and all other Englishe capitaines, and petie Capitaines, dined with an Almain called Clene Anderline, except sir Mathew Broune, and Jhon Fogge, whiche kepte the felde, and Richard Wethill, whiche kepte the trenche and was sore besette: and in the dinner tyme, thei of the toune issued out on thenglishemen, and hurte and toke one Sheldwiche of Canterbury prisoner, and one Miles: and thenglishemen hurt and slew many of theim, and compelled theim to returne by force of Arrowes, and so thei reculed with one prisoner. For Miles, which was led betwene two of the Geldres, perceiving rescue comming, after as he came to an hyll thrust the two Gelders doune the hill before him, and so ranne backe to his compaignie, whiche thyng the two Geldres that led him perceiving ranne to Sheldwiche and slew him. The Burgonions perceiving, that sir Edwarde Powninges was displeased with this chaunce, exhorted him with his menne to assault the toune, whiche, by thadvise of bastard Emery answered that the cause was theirs, and not his Maysters: and if he gatte the toune by assaulte, the king his Master should not have it, but if they would geve the assault, he woulde joyne with theim, whiche thing thei would not do, because thei had kinsemen and frendes within the toune: savyng one daie a few Almaines assaulted a Bulwerke, and wer slain and taken.

The Englishe capitaines perceiving that thei laie there in vaine, consideryng the strength of the toune, and also how their armye was not in numbre to environ the toune, for ever

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ever thei had one Gate open, wrote to the kyng, which willed them with all spede to returne, and so thei did.

Sir Edward Powninges went to the Court of Burgoyn, where he was highly entertayned of the young prince, and the Lady Margaret his aunte, and received great thankes and giftes for hys pain. And other capitaines, as syr Jhon Norton, sir Jhon Fogge, sir Jhon Scot, and syr Thomas Lind, were made knightes of the Prince. And the lady Margaret, perceiving the coates of the souldiers to be foule with liyng on the ground (for every man lai not in a tent) gave to every yoman a cote of wolen clothe of yalowe, red, white and grene coloures, not to her litle laude and praise emong thenglishemen. After that sir Edward Ponynges had ben highly feasted, and more praised of all men for his valiantnes, and good ordre of his people, he returned with his compaignie into England, and had lost by warre and sickenes, not fully an C. persones.

When the Englishemen were departed, Geldres issued out daily, and made skirmishes and fraies with the Burgonions, and asked for theyr Archers, and Winter beganne sharpelye to approche, and by aboundaunce of raine, the river of the Masse roase so high, that the Trenches were drouned, and of force men were compelled to remove. And when the Capitaines considered the strengthe of the Towne, how it was fortified, victailed and manned, and how by the risyng of the River it was made stronger: thei determined to raise the Siege, and to burne and destroye all the Villages and Tounes aboute, of the which toune of Venlow, would have succor in winter, and to mete again, at the Prime time of the yere. Thus was the siege raised, and the countrey wasted and spoyled, and then every capitain returned home.

In June the kyng beyng at Leicester, tidynges wer brought to him, that Andrew Barton a Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea, saiyng that the kyng of Scottes, had warre with the Portingales, did rob every nacion, and so stopped the kynges stremes, that no merchauntes almost could passe, and when he toke thenglishmenes goodes, he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at every havens mouthe. The kyng moved greately with this craftie pirate, sent sir Edmond Haward lord Admiral of England, and lord Thomas Haward sonne and heire

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heire to therle of Surrey, in all the hast to the sea, whiche hastely made redy two shippes, and without any more abode, toke the sea, and by chaunce of wether were severed. The lorde Haward liyng in the Dounes, perceived where Andrew was making toward Scotlande, and so fast the saied lorde chased him, that he overtooke hym, and there was a sore battaill: thenglishmen wer fierce, and the Scottes defended them manfully, and ever Andrew blewe his whistell to encorage his men, yet for al that, the lord Haward and his men, by cleane strength entred the mayne decke: then the Englishemen entred on all sides, and the Scottes foughte sore on the hatches, but in conclusion, Andrewe was taken, whiche was so sore wounded, that he died there: then all the remnaunte of the Scottes wer taken, with their shippe called the Lion.

Al this while, was the lorde Admirall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande, called Jenny Pirwyn, whiche was wont to saile with the Lion in compaignie, and so muche did he with other, that he laied him on borde, and fiercely assailed him, and the Scottes as hardy and well stomaked men them defended, but the lorde Admirall so encoraged his men, that they entered the Barke and slewe many, and toke all the other.

Thus wer these two shippes taken, and brought to Blacke Wal, the seconde daie of August, and al the Scottes were sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remained at the kynges charge, til other direccion was taken for theim.

After this, the kyng sent the bishop of Winchester, and certain of his counsaill, to tharchebishop of Yorkes place, wher the Scottes wer prisoners: and ther the bishop rehersed to them, wher as peace was yet between England and Scotland, that thei contrary to that, as theves and pirates, had robbed the kynges subjectes within his stremes: wherfore, thei had deserved to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scottes, we knowlege our offence, and aske mercie and not the lawe. Then a priest, which was also prisoner said, my lordes we appele from the kinges justice to his mercy. Then the bishop asked him if he wer aucthorised by them to sai so, and thei cried al yea yea, then said he, you shal find the kinges merci above his justice. For wher you wer ded bi the

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the law, yet by his merci he wil revive you, wherfor, you shal depart out of this realme wythin xx. daies, upon pain of death, if you be founde after the xx. daie, and praie for the kyng, and so they passed into the Countrey.

The kyng of Scottes, hearyng of the death of Andrewe of Barton, and takyng of his two shippes, was wonderfull wrothe, and sent letters to the kyng, requiryng restitucion, accordyng to the league and amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherly salutacions to the kyng of Scottes, of the robberies and evill doynges of Andrewe Barton, and that it became not one Prince to laie a breache of a league to another Prince in doyng Justice upon a pirate or thiefe, and that al the other Scottes that were taken, had deserved to dye by Justice, if he had not extended his mercie: and with this answere, the Scottishe Herauld departed home.

Duryng this season, there began greate warre, betwene Pope July and the Frenche kyng, Loys the XII.: the occasion beganne by one Jhon Bentivoyle, a greate lorde of Italie, whiche kepte the citee of Boloigne le Grace from the Pope, whiche, by the aide of the Frenche kyng, gatte the saied citee from the forenamed Jhon Bentivoyle: but afterward, because the saied Pope July tooke peace with the Venecians, the French kyng turned from the Pope, and made warre on hym, in the behalfe of Jhon Bentivoyle, and toke from hym again the said citee of Boloigne.

The kyng of Englande wrote often to kyng Loys of Fraunce to desist from the persecutyng of the Pope, which was his frende and confederate: to which writyng he gave litle regard, wherefore, the kyng sent him woorde, to deliver hym his lawfull enheritaunce, bothe of the Duchie of Normandie and Guyan, and the countreis of Anjow and Mayne, and also of his Croune of Fraunce, els he would come with suche a power, that by fine force he would obtein his purpose. For al these writinges, the Frenche kyng still made warre in Italie, and the kyng could of him have no certain nor determinate answere. Wherefore, after greate deliberacion had, by the advise of his counsaill, he determined to make warre on the Frenche kyng, and his countreis, and called to him Maximilian the Emperor, and Ferdinand kyng of Arragon, and diverse other princes, and made preparacion, bothe by sea and by lande, and fortified his frontiers against Fraunce, and set furth shippes to the sea for defence of his

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his merchauntes, whiche wer daily in jeoperdy, under a pretensed peace of the Frenche kyng, Lewes the XII.

The kyng this yere kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche, wher was such abundaunce of viandes served, to all comers of any honest behavior, as hath been fewe times seen. And against Newieres night, was made in the halle a castle, gates, towers, and dungion, garnished wyth artilerie and weapon after the most warlike fashion: and on the frount of the castle was written *le Fortresse dangerus*, and within the castle were vi. ladies, clothed in Russet Satin, laide all over with leves of Golde, and every owde, knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their heddes, coyfes, and cappes all of golde.

After this castle had been caried about the hal, and the quene had behelde it, in came the kyng with five other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangles of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of russet satin, embroudered with workes of fine gold bullion. These vi. assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, were content to solace with them, and upon farther communicacion, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knightes into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished out of their sightes.

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with xi. other wer disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold, and after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maskes is, thei toke their leave and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

The xv. daie of Januarij began the Parliament, where the Bisshop of Cantorburie began his oracion with this verse, *Justicia et pax osculate sunt*, upon whiche, he declared how Justice should be ministered, and peace should

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should bee nourished, and by what meanes, Justice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And there upon he shewed, how the French kyng would do no Justice, in restoryng the kyng his right enheritaunce, wherfore, for lacke of Justice, peace of necessitie must turne to warre.

In this Parliament was graunted, twoo fiftenes of the temporaltie, and of the clergie two dismes: Duryng which Parliament, one Newbolt yoman of the kynges Garde, whom the kyng highly favored, slewe wilfully a servaunt of my lorde Willoughbies, in the palaice at Westminster, wherfore, the kyng abhorryng that deede, and settyng a side al affeccion, caused him to be hanged in the Palaice of Westminster, wher he hong twoo daies, in example of other.

In this season, one Jherome Bonvise, whiche was borne in Luke, and was a factor in London for Merchauntes of that nacion, and had plaied Bankroute, and was conveighed out of the realme for debt, was nowe in suche favor with Pope July, that he made hym his Collector, and Proctor in England: and so he kept a greate porte, and resorted to the kyng and his counsaill, for the Popes affaires, (which then was sore troubled by the Frenche kyng) so that he knewe, bothe the Popes counsaill, and the kynges, and falsly and untruly, resorted by nighte, to the Frenche Ambassadors, liyng in London, and to theim discovered, what the kyng and the Pope entended, which was not so closly doen, but the king knewe it: and so he was laied for, and was taken commonyng, with one of the said Ambassadors, upon London wall at midnight, and brought to the Tower, where he remained, till by the suite of his frendes, he was delivered, and shortly for shame, voyded the realme.

After that it was concluded, by the body of the Realme, in the high Courte of Parliament assembled, that warre should bee made on the Frenche kyng and his dominions, the kyng with all diligence caused newe shippes to be made and repaired, and rigged the old, caused Gonnes, Bowes, Arrowes, and al other artilery, and instrumentes of warre to be made, in suche nombre and quantitee, that it was wonderfull to se what thynges wer doen, bothe for sea and lande in so shorte space.

The kyng of Arragon, whiche also had warre with the French

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French kyng, and hearyng that his sonne the kyng of England would make warre in Fraunce, did write to hym that the duchie of Guyan was his true enheritaunce, whiche adjoyned to his countrey of Biskey: wherfore, if the kyng of Englande would entende to recover his Duchy first, and send an armie of men to Biskaye, and so to begin at Bayon, whiche is the keye of Guyan, he would aide them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for cariages, with other necessaries apperteignyng to the same.

The kyng and his counsaill, puttyng their affiaunce in the promise of the kyng of Arragon, prepared a noble armie al of fotemen, and smal ordinaunce, trustyng to the kyng of Arragon for aide of horsemen and greate ordinaunce, and of the same made capitain, the noble lorde Thomas Grey Marques of Dorset, to whom, he assigned many other gentlemen, as you shall here after in the next yere.

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THE kyng greatly studiyng, to furnishe furthe his warre, whiche he had begonne against the Frenche kyng, caused sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall, with all diligence to take the sea, whiche, with all spede possible made ready diverse goodly and tal shippes, as the sovereigne and other to the nombre of xviii. beside litle shippes: and in his compaignie were Capitaines, syr Weston Browne, Griffith Doune, Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Wyndam, Thomas Lucie, Willyam Pirton, Henry Shirborne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Jhon Hopton, Willyam Gimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Coke, Jhon Bordet, with diverse other. When all these were shipped, they sailed to Dover, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portesmouthe, about the middes of Maye.

The third daie of Maie, a gentleman of Flaunders, called Guyot of Guy, came to the kynge, wyth v. C. Almaines al in white, whyche was cutte so small, that it could scace hold together. After they had mustered at Blacke Hethe, the kyng made hym knight, and gave hym a greate chayne, and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton. About midde Maie, the lorde Marques and other noble men, appoynted by the kyng for the jorney of Biskay, as

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as the Lorde Hawarde, sonne and heire to the erle of Surrey, the Lorde Broke, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Ferrers, the lorde Jhon, the lorde Anthony, and the lorde Leonard Grey, all three brethren to the Marques, sir Griffith App Riche, sir Mooreis Barkeley, sir Wylliam Sandes, the Baron of Burfford, sir Richard Cornwal his brother, William Huse, Jhon Melton, Willyam Kyngston Esquires, sir Henry Willoughby, and diverse other with souldiours, to the nomber of x. M. men, came to Southamton and there mustered. To se the lordes and gentelmen, so well armed and so richely appareled in clothes of gold, and of silver, and Velvettes of sundery coloures, pounsed and enbroudered, and all petie capitaines in Satin and damakse, of white and grene, and yomen in clothe of the same coloures. The Baners, Penons, Standerdes, and Gittons, fresh and newly painted, with sundry beastes and devises, it was a pleasure to behold. And when sir Willyam Sandes knight, appoynted Threasorer for the warres had paied all the wages, then every man was commaunded to his shippe. Then you should have sene byndyng of males, and fardelles, trussyng of coffers and trussers, that no manne was idle: and so on the xvi. daie, al the armie were shipped in Spanishe shippes, vitailed for that jorney, and passed the Nedles of Wight all the same daie, and so did the Lorde Admirall, whiche laie abidyng the wynde at Portesmouth, and toke his course to Britain, of whom I will speke after.

The wynde served the Marques and his compaigne so well, that he with his whole armie arrived in Biskay, at a porte called Passagh, Southe West of Fountrabie. The thirde daie of June, the lorde Marques and all his faire compaignie landed, and tooke the fielde, and him wisely embattailed for his savegard. The Biskaynes that brought vitaile to the armie, saied to the souldiours: Sirs you bee arrived her, in trust that the kyng of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here no preparacion that he maketh, nor never sent us worde to prepare for your comming, of the whiche wee marvell muche. These wordes ranne daily through the hoste, whiche made many men sad and to muse: and the Biskanes sore feared, least thenglishmen would destroye their countrey, because their kyng kepte not promise with theim, but the Marques made suche streight Proclamacion, that no souldiour durste do any

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any injurie to them. Within three daies after that the armie had lien in the feld, there came to him an erle, and another noble man, to welcome hym and his compaignie. Then the Lorde capitayn removed his field, and toke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of water and woode, and there pitched his fielde, every daie lookyng for aide of the kyng of Arragon, but he harde of none. Then he called a Counsail, and devised how thei might have beastes to draw ordinaunce and cariages: then one sir Jhon Stile an Englishman, caused to be bought twoo C. Mulettes and Asses, of suche price as the Spanyardes gayned greatly, and when they were put to cary, they would neither bere nor drawe, for they were beastes which were not exercised afore. Then the lorde Marques muche lamented that chaunce, for if he had had redy two hundred drawyng beastes, he might have runne a great waie in Guian with his power, whiche then was not fortified, neither of men of warre, nor municions, nor artilarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearyng of the Englishemennes campe, made a greate askry betwene the river of sainct Maria and Bayon: the Englishmen perceivyng the same, passed the river in good ordre of battail, al being on foote for lacke of the horsmen that the kyng of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchemen on horsebackes that thei fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or thei came to Bayon: at the whiche thenglishmen laughed and lamented. Firste, to se their cowardnes, second, to remembre what thei might have doen, if thei had had horses mete for their purpose: yet all thys notwithstandyng, thei retired to their campe in suche ordre, that the Spanyardes wondered muche, bothe at their fierce corage and sobre ordre.

The kyng of Navar, hearyng of the puissaunt armie of the English men liyng in Biskey so nere to his countrey, was sore troubled, and wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the lord Marques, a bisshop and diverse other, to shewe to hym and all his counsaill, that if it pleased them, his countrey should sende them victaill, and al thynges necessarie for their money, and to do any other pleasure that thei could do, whiche might be to the pleasure of hym and all his armie, so that his realme should be sure of any invacions to be made by his people.

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The Marques beyng capitain generall, with the advise of the other Lordes and counsaill, muche highly thanked the kyng of Navar of his good wil, aide, and comfort, which thinges onely they required: and if it pleased him, that his people will and maie victaill us, we shall not onely paie theim for it, but also warraunt the passyng and repassing for us and oures in savetie, and that by us no prejudice shalbee dooen to hys realme, nor by our consent. With whiche answere the kyng of Navar was joyous, and suffered his people to victaill, and resort to the hooste, with al thinges necessarie and belongyng to the same, in greate windes and stormes, for that tyme happened muche wind and raine, whiche sore encombered the souldiours, that laye nightly on the bare grounde, for every man had not a tent or pavilion, whereof some wer lame, and some deffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there xxx. daies, in the seconde moneth ther came from the kyng of Arragon, a bisshop and other nobles of his counsail: but when it was knowen that it was the same bisshop that made the answere to the lorde Darcie at Cales Males, as you have hard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delaies: but he required the lorde Marques to take pacience, for shortly suche preparacion should be made, that he should se and prove, that it should be to the honor of his Master, and to his great renoune: to whom the Marques answered, that upon confidence of the king of Arragons promise that thei should lacke no beastes mete for drawyng, and horsemen, the kyng of England had sent him and his compaignions thether, whereof we have trusted sithe our firste hether commyng, whiche thynges if we had had, we had doen other enterprises then we have doen: for now we have lien here in campe, to the great charge of our Master, the kyng of England, and to no profite, and to our losse and great hurt. For at our arrivall the countrey of Guyan for the which we came, was unprovided of men of warr, munitions, and ordinaunce, by reason whereof (if all thynges had been accomplished of the part of your Master as we trusted) we might have had that whiche we came for, and if our commission had not been to folowe the kyng your Masters wil, as to whom we bee sent, I assure you we would have dooen other wise or this: but now the Frenchmen

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men have fortefied, victailed, and manned their tounes, and wee have spent tyme and dooen nothyng at all, lyngeryng for the kyng your Master, to the losse of us and great blemishyng of our honours.

The bisshop perceivyng that the Englishe capitaines wer couragious and discontent with their idle abode, flatteryngly desired theim to tarry a while for the best, for a backe enemie saied he, is to bee regarded. Then saide the lorde Marques capitain general, if we knewe the Kynges entent, it would suffice us. Then saied the bisshop, you shal knowe it shortly: and so he departed frome the armie.

Tharmie this lyngering, ever desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their victaile was muche part Garlike, and the Englieshmen did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote wether, and did eate all the hote frutes that thei could gette, which caused their bloudde so to boyle in their belies, that there fell sicke three thousande of the flixe, and thereof died xviii. hundred men.

The lorde Marques and other capitaines perceivyng this mischief, sent to the kyng of Arragon certain Lordes of the hooste to know his pleasure. The whiche answered them with gentle fashion, that the counsaill of Englande and his counsaill, had taken an ordre in all thyng of late, and how the duke Dalva a greate prince of Spain, should shortly with an armie royall joyne with theim, and so to procede in their enterprise. With whiche answere and small chere, the lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their capitain accordyng, whiche thought it verie sleight, but ever he regarded his Masters commaundement, and counsailed all the lordes to be content with the same.

The armie liyng thus still and the sickenes not slaked, the people beyng idle, some evill disposed persones saied, that every capitain was alowed viii.d. for a common souldier, whiche was untrue, for thei had alowed onely vi.d. and so began together compaignies, the lordes perceivyng this, toke with them their trustie servauntes, and toke the beginners of the mischief, whiche wer of the retinue of my lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde. Whan thei wer arrested, other of like evil disposicion began to crake and face, whiche thyng beyng perceived, the lorde Marques by the advice of other capitanes caused serche to bee made, and

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and so founde out the beginner of the mischief, whiche was delivered to Willyam Kyngston Esquire then Provost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

Duryng the tyme that the armie laie thus lyngering, the Frenchmen diverse times came to behold the Englishemen, and when thei sawe any part of the armie remove toward theim, incontenent thei fled, and so the English archers every daie went a forragyng on the borders of Guian almoste to Bayon, and brent many pretie vilages, but ever they desired to have tidynges of the king of Arragon, and to know what thei should do, for they wer commaunded to be ruled by them.

The Englishemen thus liyng idlely abidyng the aide of the kyng of Arragon, tidynges came daily into the host, how the Duke Dalva was commyng with a great puissaunce to joyne with the English army, and so to invade Guyan: thenglishe capitaines wer joyful of these tidynges, not so muche for the aide of the Spanyardes which they litle regarded, but for the beastes for cariage of greate artilerie, whyche they brought not with theim, in hope of the kyng of Arragons promes: for if thei had beastes for their cariage, and greate ordinaunce accordyng to the appoyntement, they would have doen otherwise, whiche thyng sore greved their hartes.

Now thei thus lokyng for the Duke Dalva, hard every daie how he marched towarde theim, and was within a daies jorney or litle more of them, of the which the Englishmen wer merveilous joyful, but the Duke which pretended another thyng, sodainly removed his armie in a night with such diligence that he entred the realme of Naver, and was before the citie of Pampilona the chief citie of Naver before the kyng wist of it, whiche nothyng suspected of that pollicye.

Thus the kyng was sodainly trapped, supposyng tharmie of Spain to have been reised to invade Guyan, and havyng nothyng defensable for the warre, in the night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce where he after died. The citie of Pampilona and all the countrey of Naver, being unprovided of artilarie and other defences, yelded themselfes to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Naver wonne, which thyng made the lorde Marques and his compainie not a litle to marvell. So shortely after came to the lorde capitain

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capitain and the Englishemen, diverse Lordes sent from the Kyng of Arragon, whiche saied: The kyng our soveraigne lord, sendeth to you great gramercies, and highly thanketh you for your pain, and so it is that by Goddes grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered the realme of Naver, and if that countrey had not bee taken, thei might have intercepted all suche ordinaunce and victail, as the king of Arragon our master might have sent to you, but now you bee in suche a suretie and his puyssaunce with you and yours with his, that ye maie savely joyne, whiche you shall see shortly, ye and he hymself in proper person to joyne with you. Well said the lorde Marques capitain generall, we have sojeourned long here abidyng his commyng, and if the commission and expresse commaundement of the king my sovereigne lord wer not, that I should do nothing without the assent of the king your master, I assure you that the French menne should have knowen that Englishmen had been heere, and not to have lien so long in idelnes as we have done: but if thee kyng your master doo as you reporte, it shalbe muche to his honor and to our greate comforte, and so the lordes of Spayne departed.

As the armie of Englishmen thus laie in campe, there was a village called *Sancta Maria*, in whiche diverse of the Englishemen, and especially suche as have ben sicke, resorted and reposed theimself, not to the litle advantage of the toune, so it fortuned that a Spanyarde gave evil language to an Englisheman, whiche gave him a buffet on the face, the toune rose and sett on the Englisheman, and gathered in suche a multitude, that the Englisheman whiche was the first beginner was slain, because onely thre Englishemen came to his rescue, whiche wer all hurte. The Almaynes that laie at the tounes ende, strake Alarum whiche hearyng the campe, cried to harnes every man. The tidinges were brought to the campe, that thei of the toune had slain an Englishman, and would bid battaill: the souldiers hearyng this, in a rage ranne to the toune in suche maner, that the capitaines could not staie them, and slew and robbed the people without mercy. The people fled over the water into Guian. The capitaines seeyng this with their privie servauntes kepte thee straightes, by the which the souldiers returned with pillage and naperie, brasse, pewter, beddes, plate, and other houshold stuffe, and apparell

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apparell which was commaunded to be layd doune by the lordes on a hepe. And after the lordes went to the toune to se what harme the Englishmen had doen, there thei found many Biskaynes slain, and the toune robbed, and the people fled. Then thei by sobre meanes and gentle exhortacion, brought al the souldiers to the campe: then Proclamacion was made that every man upon payn of death should bring in his pillage. Now ther wer xxi. men of whom one was a gentelman whiche had taken awaie x. thousand Duckates, who fled toward Gascoyne and were taken, and brought before the lord capitayn, and other, and adjudged to die: of the whiche vii. wer put in execucion, and the other xiiii. should have died the morow after, if the lordes of Spaine had not ben there at their judgement which with greate diligence and labor gat their pardon: and so all the pillage almost was restored, and the countrey pacified.

Then one daie the Frenchemen whiche hard of this riot and trouble in the hoste, issued out of Baion toward the Englishemennes armie, the Englishmen hearing thereof, marched toward them, and when the French men perceived that thei were askried, thei sodainly returned. Thenglishmenne perceiving that the Frenchemen would not tarie, went to a good toune called sainct Jhon de Luce, and brent, robbed, and killed the inhabitauntes, and so from thence spoiled diverse other villages aboute the borders of Guyan. Thus the armie laie til the moneth of October, and winter began sore to encrease, and the lord Marques capitain generall fell sore sicke, and then the lord Haward had under hym the whole governaunce of tharmy, to whom wer sent divers lordes of the privy counsail of Spain saiyng: the kyng our master sendeth you word, that he would gladly come to you but the ceason is spent, the ground is so moyst that cariage cannot be conveighed, the feldes so barrain that beastes cannot fede, and the wether so troubleous that people cannot wel lye abrode in campe: therfore he would desire you, al these thinges considred, to breke up your feld, and sever your self to the tounes and villages of his countrey, tyll the spring of the yere, at whiche tyme there shall resorte to you freshe succors out of Englande, and he hymself will be with you with al ordenaunce necessary as becommeth to suche an armye, and then shall procede the first pretensed enterprice, to the honor of the kyng your master and ours,

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ours, and not to your small fame and renoune. When this message was hard by the whole counsaill, no manne was contented, but the lorde Haward which had the whole governaunce under the Marques saied: what report of honor can wee make of the kyng of Arragon your master, for at his desier we be come hether, and here have lien in campe a long space, ever tarieng for performaunce of his promise, and yet nothing hath he performed, our people be dedde of the flixe in greate numbre: we gentelmen everychone doth muche lament this long idelnes, by reason where of many a tall man having nothyng to do but abiding your masters pleasure hath fallen to some mischief, or by sicknes, or els for misdoyng executed by Justice. What shall the kyng our master report of our slothfulnes, whiche hath spent hym innumerable treasure and nothinge gained? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your master us denieth of suche thinges as hee promised, and willeth us like cowardes to our dishonor, to reise our Campe without any notable act doen to the frenchemen, for which cause we came.

The Spaniardes perceiving the grudge of the Englishemen, sayed that tyme passed could not be revoked, and that they had not lien idely, for the frontiers of Guian had susteined such dammage, as in many yeres thei shall not recover again, and all this while the Frenchmen durst not medle with you, so that you have lost no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daily Skirmishyng, thei shall receive greate damage: duryng whiche time, the kyng our master hath commaunded, the thinges mete and necessary for you to be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere he shall joyne with you, soo that your enemies and his shall well knowe your puissaunce, for he taketh all enemies too you to be his, so with faire wordes the counsaill of Spayn departed.

Then the lorde Haward beyng chief, because the Marques was sick, counsailed with all the other lordes and capitaines, and so in the end of October thei agreed to breake up their campe, and so thei did, and thee lorde Marques and his people went to sainct Sebastian, thee lord Haward and his retinew to Rendre, and the lord Willoughby to Garschang, sir Wiliam Sandes and many other capitaines to Fountrabie, and so every capitain with his retinew wer severed in diverse villages.

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The Englishe souldiers, what for sickenes, and what for miserie of the countrey, ever desired to returne into England. The kyng of England advertised by the kyng of Arragon of his entent, and how he would set forward the first spryng, sent Wynsore his Herauld of Armes to hys armie willyng them there to tary, and that he would lende them new aide, under the conduite of the lorde Harbert his Chamberlain: which letter when it was redde, the souldiers began to murmure and grudge after such a sort, saiyng: that thei would not abide and dye of the flixe in such a wretched countrey, to be defrauded and mocked of the kyng of Arragon the next yere, as thei wer this yere, and spake such outragious wordes, that the capitain could not staie them, in so much that thei in a fury had slain the lord Haward and diverse other, if thei had not folowed their myndes, and so thei hired shippes and putte the lorde Marques in one, whiche was so weake that he asked where he was: and then every man shipped, whiche was in Novembre, and in the beginnyng of decembre thei landed in Englande. The kyng of Arragon was sore discontent with their departyng, for thei spent much money and substaunce in his countrey, and saied openly, that if thei had taried he would have invaded Guyan, and the Englishemen wer glad that thei were departed out of such a countrey, wher thei had litle health, lesse pleasure and much losse of tyme: but by their liyng there, the Kyng of Arragon stale the realme of Nauer, and the Englishemen left as muche money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sailed into Spayne in the moneth of May, the same tyme sir Edward Haward Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you have hard before, sailed toward Britain, and on Trinitie Sundaie arrived at Bertram Bay in Britain, with xx. great shippes, and sodainly set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an askrie, and sette their beacons on fire, and shot out of a bulwarke that they had fortified at the poynt of the Baye, but the Englishemen whiche wer in the ship of Willyam Gonstone Grocer of London, toke first land maugre them all, and al other after, and so manfully thei set on the bulwarke that thei wan it, and the Britans fled and many slain. Then the Admirall set his men in an ordre, and passed in the countrey seven myles, burnyng and wastyng tounes and villages: and in his returne he skirmished

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skirmished with diverse men of armes and slewe diverse of theim, and notwithstandyng the Britons fought valiauntly for defence of their countrey, yet thei lost and nothing wan: and so the lorde Admirall returned to his shippe.

Upon mondaie the xxiii. day of May he landed in the mornyng, and commaunded to burne the lorde Piers Meguns place, and the toune of Conket and diverse other places, and chased the Britones to the Castle of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britons made, yet thei suffered the Englishmen peaceably to returne with their praies and gaines. The Britons seyng the hurte that the navie of England did to them, saide: alas the king of Englande hath ever before this time succoured us, and now he entendeth to destroy us, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first daie of June the Englishemen toke lande in Croiton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent worde to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abide, thei would fight with him in plain felde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and said, go say to them that sent the, that al this daie thei shall finde me here, tarieng their comming. Then he to encourage diverse gentelmen dubbed theim knightes, as sir Edward Broke brother to the lorde Cobham, sir Griffithe Doune, sir Thomas Windam, sir Thomas Lucie, sir William Pirton, sir Henry Shirborne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Jhon Burdett: Then the lorde Admirall highly incouraged his men, when he saw the Britons come, which was x. thousand at the least, the Englishemen but onely xxv. C. or fewe above, bidding them remembre the honor and renoune that should come to them, if thei gained the jorney, and yet if thei wer slain, their valiauntnes was to be praised, and their true diligence to do their master service much to be allowed.

When the Britons sawe the ordre of the Englishmen and their banners displaied, thei wer sodainly astonied, then a gentelman of Britain of muche experience, advised the other capitaines not to fight, but to returne a litle and to take a strong grounde, and to watche the Englishemen, when thei returned to ther shippes, and then to take thavauntage. And so the captaines began to returne: and when the commons saw them returne, al thei raune awaie as faste as thei might, supposyng that their capitaines had seen or knowen some great perell toward them, because thei were not

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not privy of their Capitaines counsail. And when thei came home to their houses, some saied the battaill was greate, and some saied that the Englishemen wer xl. thousande. The lord Admirall seing this chaunce, when nighte came departed to his shippes: but yet they knewe not why thei fled, till after he hard the truthe. The gentelmen of Britain called a greate counsaill, saiyng that the Englishemen daily wasted the countrey on the sea cost, and that there was no trust in the commonalty, and that the gentelmen alone could not defende the countrey, wherfore thei concluded to send a messenger to the lorde Admirall, desiring hym of a safe conduite for diverse persones to speake with hym, the which he gently graunted. Then certain lordes of Britain toke a bote, and came to the ship of the lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the counsaill of the captaines about him. Then thei desired him humbly to surcest of his rigorous and cruel warre, and especially of burning of tounes whiche is to you no profite, and if you will have thee castle of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defend it, and we desire nothing so muche as peace. Nay, saied the Lorde Admirall, wee are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then thei humblye required hym for Goddes sake to graunt theim peace for sixe daies, so that they might sende to the kyng their lorde, to advertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the lorde Admirall answered, that gentelmen ought to defend their countrey by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the whiche saiyng the Britons wer ashamed: yet thei hartely thanked him, and so he made them a banket and thei departed: and thei sent a land for freshe water and other fresh victailes, and then hearing that there wer men of warre upon the sea, he coasted from them alongest al the coastes of Normandy, stil skowring the seas, so that no enemie appered: and at the last came and laie by the Isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on thenglishe cost: duryng whiche time diverse shippes kept the North seas under the conduite of sir Edward Ichingam, Jhon Lewes, and Jhon Lovedaie, which dilygently skowred the seas.

This yere the King had a solempne Justes at Grenewich in June: firste came in ladies all in White and Red silke, set upon coursers trapped in the same sute, freated over with gold,

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gold, after whom folowed a fountain curiously made of Russet Satin, with eight Gargilles spoutyng Water, within the Fountain sat a knight armed at al peces. After thys Fountain folowed a lady all in blacke silk dropped with fine silver, on a courser trapped in the same. After folowed a knight in a horslitter, the Coursers and litter appareled, blacke with Silver droppes. When the Fountain came to the tilt, the Ladies rode rounde about and so did the Fountain and the knight within the litter. And after them wer brought twoo goodly coursers appareled for the Justes: and when they came to the Tiltes ende, the twoo knightes mounted on the twoo Coursers abidyng all commers. The king was in the fountain, and sir Charles Brandon was in the litter. Then sodainly with greate noyse of Trompettes, entered sir Thomas Knevet in a Castle of Cole blacke, and over the castell was written, *The dolorous Castle*, and so he and therle of Essex, the lorde Haward and other ran their courses with the King and sir Charles Brandon, and ever the king brake moste speres.

The Kyng ever remembring his warres, caused all his shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with all manner of ordinaunce and artillery mete for shippes of ware. And emongest all other, he decked thee Regent a ship royal as chief ship of that name, and then caused souldiers mete for the same shippes, to muster on Blackeheth, and he appointed capitaines for that time, sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ichingham, William Sidney, and diverse other Gentelmen, whiche shortlye shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Galeye was lost by the negligence of the Master.

The king ever desiryng to see his navie together, roade to Portesmouthe, and there he appoynted capitaines for the Regent, sir Thomas Knevet master of his horse, and sir Jhon Carew of Devonshire. And to another ship royal called the sovereigne, he apponcted sir Charles Brandon, and sir Henry Guildforde, and with theim in the Sovereigne were put ix. of the tallest yomen of the kinges Gard, and many other gentelmen wer made Capitaines. The king made a greate banquet to all the capitaines, and every one sware to another ever to defend, aide, and comfort one an other without failyng, and this they promised before the Kyng, whiche committed theim to God, and so with great noyse

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noyse of minstrelsie thei toke their shippes, whiche wer in nombre 25 of greate burden, and well furnished of all thinges.

The Frenche kyng hearyng what dammage thenglishmen had don in Britaine, strongly furnished his Navie in the haven of Brest, to the nombre of xxxix. saile, and for chief ordeigned a Carick of Brest, apperteigning to the Quene his wife, which was Duches and heire of Brittayne called Cordelier, whiche was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so thei set forward out of Brest the x. daie of August, and came to Britaine Bay, in which place the self same day, being the day of s. Laurence, the Englishe Navie was arrived.

When the Englishe menne perceived the French Navie to be out of Brest haven, then the lorde Admirall was very joyous, then every man prepared accordyng to his duetie, the Archers to shote, the Gonners to lose, the men of Armes to fight, the Pages went to the toppe Castle with dartes: thus all thinges beyng provided and set in ordre, the Englishe men approched toward the Frenchemen, whiche came fiersly forwarde, some leaving his Ancre, some with his foresaile onely to take the moost avauntage: and when thei wer in sight, thei shot ordenaunce so terribly together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the great ship of Depe, and chased her stil: sir Henry Guilford and sir Charles Brandon, made with the greate Caricke of Brest, beyng in the Sovereigne, and laied stemme to stemme to thee Caricke, but by negligence of the Master, or els by smoke of the ordinaunce or other wise, the Sovereigne was cast at the sterne of thee Carick, with which avauntage the Frenchemenne showted for joy: but when sir Thomas Knevet whiche was ready to have borded the greate ship of Depe, saw that the Sovereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the starne, and bouged her in diverse places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodainly the Regent crappeled with her a long boord, and when thei af the Carick perceived that thei could not depart, thei let slip an Ancre, and so with the streme the shippes turned, and the Caricke was on the wetherside, and the Regent on the lye side, the fight was very cruell, for the archers of the Englishe parte, and the Crossebowes of the Frenche part did their uttermost: but

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but for al that the English men entered the Caricke, whiche seing a varlet Gonner being desperate put fire in the Gonne powder as other saie, and set the whole ship of fire, the flame whereof set fire in the Regent, and so these twoo noble shippes which wer so crappeled together that thei could not part wer consumed by fire. The French navie perceiving this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adjoynyng. The Englishmen in maner dismaied, sent out boates to help them in the Regent, but the fire was so greate that in maner no mon durst approche, saving that by the James of Hul wer certein Frenchmen that could swimme saved. This burning of the Caricke was happy for the frenche navie, or els thei had been better assailed of thenglishemen, whiche wer so amased with this chaunce, that thei folowed them not. The capitain of this Carick was sir Piers Morgan, and with him ix. C. men slain and ded: and with sir Thomas Knevet and sir Jhon Carow wer vii. C. men drouned and brent, and that nighte all the Englishemen laie in Bartrain Baye, for the frenche flete was sparcled as you have hard.

The lorde admirall called al the capitaines together, desiryng theim not to be abasshed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought now that this was the worste fortune that could happen to theim, therfore to studie how to be revenged, and so thei concluded all to go to the sea, whiche thei did, and on the coast of Britain toke many shippes, and such as thei could not cary away they set on fire, small and great to a greate nombre on al the coast of Britain, Normandy and Picardy, and thus thei kept the sea.

The King of England heryng of the losse of the Regent, caused a great shippe to be made, such another as was never seen before in England, and called it, *Henry grace de Dieu.*

The French kyng heryng that his flete was thus devided, and of the losse of his greate Caricke, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior Jhon, whiche had three Galies of force, with diverse Foystes and Rowgalies so well ordinaunced and with suche peces as was not seen in shippes before his comming: for he laie on the coast of Barbary, to defende certein of the Religion of the Rhodes comming to Tripoly, and at thee Frenche kinges request came into Britain and there taried.

In Novembre the kyng called his high Courte of Parliament,

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ment, and there was concluded that the kyng himself in person, with an army roiall would invade his realme of Fraunce, with fire and Sworde, which thing beeyng knowen to his subjectes, and especiall to such as shoulde go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparacion was made of harneis, weapon, artillery, banners and al other thinges necessary for such an enterprice.

The kyng after this Parliament ended, kept a solempne Christmas at Grenewiche to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night came into the hall a Mount, called the riche Mount. The Mount was set full of riche flowers of silke, and especially ful of Brome slippes full of coddes, the Braunches wer grene Satin, and the flowers flat Gold of Damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodly Bekon geving light, round aboute the Bekon sat the king and five other, al in cotes and cappes of right Crimosin velvet, enbroudered with flatt gold of Dammaske, their coates set ful of spangelles of gold, and foure wood-houses drewe the Mount till it came before the quene, and then the king and his compaignie discended and daunced: then sodainly the Mounte opened, and out came sixe ladies all in Crimosin satin and plunket, embroudered with Golde and perle, with French hoodes on their heddes, and thei daunced alone. Then the lordes of the Mount toke the ladies and daunced together: and the ladies reentred, and the Mounte closed, and so was conveighed out of the hall. Then the kyng shifted him and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquet which was very sumpteous. And after the Purificacion of our Lady, the Kyng created sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche folowing, was the kinges navie of shippes royall, and other mete for the war set furth to the numbre of xlii. Beside other Belengers, the lorde Admiral was chief, and with him sir Water Devereux Lord Ferreis, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edwarde Ichingham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Jhon Wallop, sir Thomas Wyndam, sir Stephen Bull, Wilyam FitzWilyam, Arthur Plantagenet, Wiliam Sidnay Esquires, and diverse other noble and valiaunt Capitaines: thei sailed to Portesmouth, and there laie abiding Wynde, duryng whiche tyme, the kyng sent into Flaunders for such thinges as he neded, and caused them to be brought to Caleis against his comming.

When the wynde served, the Navy royall of England waied

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waied anker and made saile into Britain, and came into Bertram Bay, and ther lay at Anker in sight of the Frenche Navie. Now you muste understande, that all the greate Navie whiche the Frenche kyng had prepared laie in the haven of Brest, so well furnished in al thinges, that no doubt it was a wonder to se: but when thei wer ready to sette furthe, and sawe the English flete on the coast, thei determined clerely to save themselfes in Brest haven. Then the Englishemen determined clerely to sett on them in the haven, and so in good ordre of battail sailed forward, but at the first entry one ship, whereof Arthur Plantagenet was capitain, fell on a blind rocke, and brast a sondre, by reason whereof, al the other staied to the gret displeasure of al the remnaunt, and not to the litle joy of the Frenchmen whiche shott at them without any doing harme. So the Englishe capitaines perceiving that thee haven was dangerous to enter without an expert lodesman, cast about and returned to their harboroughe at Bertram Baye again.

The Frenchemen perceiving that the Englishmen intended to assaile theim, moored their shippes as nye to the Castle of Brest as thei could, and set bulwarkes on the land on every side to shote at thenglishemen. Also thei frapped together xxiiii. greate Hulkes, that came to the Baye for salt, and set them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Englishe menne would have assaulted them, thei would have set them on a fire, and lett theim drive with the streme emongest the Englishe Navie. Prior Jhon also laie still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked hys Galies to the shore, and sett his Basiliskes and other ordenaunce in the mouthe of the Baye, which Bay was Bulwarked on every side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The lorde Admirall perceiving the Navie of Fraunce to lye thus in feare, and not willing nor daring to come abrode, but to ly as prisoners in a dongeon, wrote to the Kyng to come thether in person, and to have the honor of so high an entreprice: whiche writing the Kynges counsail nothing allowed, for putting the kyng in jeoperdy upon the chaunce of the sea. Wherefore the king wrote sharpely to hym, to accomplishe that whiche apperteined to his duete: whiche caused hym too take courage and put thinges in adventure as after you shall here.

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AS you have hard before the lorde Admiral of England lay stil on the coast of Britain in the Bay, called Bartrames Bay, so that for feare of hym and the Englishe Navie, neither the great shippes in Brest haven durst once move to the lea ward, nor yet Prior Jhon for al his strong Galeis would once set out a saile: saving now and then send furth his smal Foystes, to make a shew before thenglish navy whiche chased them to their Bay, but because thenglish shippes were so greate thei could not enter the Bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that, with greate daunger, for the Galies and the bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wonder how the Englishemen escaped.

The Admyrall of Englande perceving the Frenche mennes pollecy, called a counsaill, and there determined first to assaile Prior Jhon and his Galies, liyng in Whitsand Bay, and after to set on the remnaunt in the haven of Brest. Then first was appointed that Water lord Ferreis, sir Stephen Bul and other capitaines, should go a land with a convenient compaignie, to assault the Bulwarkes of Whitsand Bay, while the Lorde Admyrall entered with rowe Barges and litle Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed bothe by water and land.

Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsail: but alas, this noble capitain counsailed by a spanishe knighte called sir Alphous Charant, whiche saied that he might entre the Bay with litle jeopardy, called to hym William Fitz William, Willyam Cooke, Jhon Colley, and syr Wolstan Browne as the chief and his moste trusty frendes, and declared to theim that the matter was litle, and the honor greate, if they only tooke on them that enterprice, and let none other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desiryng honour gladly assented: so on saint Markes day, the xvi. daie of Aprill, the said Admirall put him self in a small rowe barge, with three other small rowing shippes, and his awne ship boate, and so rowed sodainly into the Baye, where Prior Jhon had moored his Galies just to the ground, whiche Galies with the bulwarkes on the lande, shot so

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so terribly that thei that folowed wer afraid: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and drave out thee Frenchemen, William Fitz William within his shippe was sore hurte with a quarrel. The Bay was very shalow, and the other shippes could not entre, for the tide was spent, whiche thyng the Frenchemen perceiving, and that there could come no succoure to the Admirall, wyth Morris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceivyng their approchyng, thought to have entered again into his rowe Barge, whiche by violence of the tide was driven doune the streme, and so with a pike was throwen over the borde and so drouned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and al the other boates and vesselles scaped hardely, for if thei had taried, the tide had failed them and then all had been lost. The lord Ferreis and other capitaines muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he dyd it without counsaill, and so he hath sped. And therfore although that they would have sette on the Navie in Brest haven, yet havyng no Admiral nor commission, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the knyges pleasur, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Navie perceivyng that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their havens, and Prior Jhon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and costed Briaitn and Normandy, and coasted over to the coast of Sussex and al his compaignie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore cottages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortely reised the countrei, and came to the coast and drove Prior Jhon to his Galeis. This was al the hurt that this stout capitain of so great fame did to England, savyng he robbed certein poore Fisshermen of Whitynges. The kynge hearing the death of his Admiral was not a litle sory, consideryng both the nobilitie of his birthe, and the valiauntnes of his persone, but all sorowe availeth not when the chaunce is past. Therfore the kyng hering that the Frenche Navie was abrode, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey, and made him Admirall, willyng him to revenge his brothers death, which with great reverence, thanked the kyng of the high truste that he had put him in. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly and valiauntly did skower the sea, that the

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the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of England, for he fought with theim at their awen portes.

The kyng whiche had all thynges necessary and mete for the warre, entendyng to passe the sea in propre person, appoynted the valiaunt lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, and his Steward of his houshold to be capitain generall of his forward, and in his compaignie wer lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby, lorde Decowrey Prior of S. Jhons, sir Rober Radcliffe Lord Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastynges, the Lorde Cobham, sir Rice Ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachiverell, sir Jhon Dighby, sir Jhon Askewe, syr Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and many Knightes and Esquiers and souldiers, to the nombre of viii. M. menne, whiche all passed the sea, and to Caleis in the middle of May.

The lorde Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, chief Chamberlayn to the kyng, the ende of the same moneth with vi. M. men passed the sea in whose compaignie were these Erles, of Northumberlande Percie, of Kent Graye, of Wilshire Stafford, the lorde Fitzwater, the lorde Dudley, the lorde Delawar, sir Thomas West his sonne, sir Edward Husey, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir Davie Owen, with many other gentelmenne, some with speres on horsbacke, some with pikes on foote, some with dimilaunces, and this was the rereward. Such good diligence was made that these two capitaines with all their compaignie, furnished with artilerie, pouder, tentes, cariages, and all thinges necessary for the warres were landed at Caleis the last daie of Maii.

After thei had sojorned certain daies in Caleis, and that all thynges requisite wer ready, thei caused a trumpet to blowe and made Proclamacion that every man should departe out of the toune, and so to begin the campe. The erle of Shrewesbury with his compaignie first toke the felde, after him folowed the lorde Harbert with his compaignie, in maner of a rereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt sir Rice ap Thomas with v. C. light horse and Archers on horsebacke, and joyned hym to the forward. Then was ther ordre taken what persones should conduite the victailers that came from Caleis, and who should conduite the victailers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduite no creature durste bryng any victaile to the armie. These two lordes thus embattailed removed the xvii. daie of June to

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to Sandisfelde, and on the xviii. daie thei came to Margison, on the farre side of the water, as though thei would have passed streightly to Bulleyne, but thei thoughte otherwise, for the next daie thei tooke another waie, and coasted the countrey with suche diligence, that the xxii. daie of June thei with al their people, ordinaunce, and habilimentes of warre, wer come before the strong citie of Tirwin, and pight their Tentes a myle from the toune, and for that night embattailed them self: and as certain captaines wer in counsaill in the lorde Herbertes tent, sodainly out of the toune was shot a gonne, the pellet wherof slewe a noble capitain called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaill, whiche sodain adventure dismaied muche thee assemble. But the lorde Herbert valiauntly comforted them, saiyng: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you muste have been content, a noble harte in warre is never a feard of death. All the countrey of Arthoys and Picardy, fortified their holdes, and made shewes as the English army passed, but thei durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Tirwin was strongly fortified with walles, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diverse fortresses in the diches, which were so brode and so plum stepe that was wondre to beholde. The lorde Pountremy was capitain generall, and with him wer within the citie vi. C. horsmen furnished, and twoo M. v. C. Almaines beside the inhabitauntes of the city, the walles and towers wer ful of ordenaunce, which did oftentymes great displeasure to the Englishemen. The Erle of Shrewesbury laied siege to the toune, on the North West side, and the lorde Herbert on the East side or end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished with the Englishemen, but the Archers shot so fast that they drave the Frenchemen into the citie, and slewe and toke diverse of them. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, having no hil or other thyng to succour or defende him, caused great trenches to be made, and so mawgre his enemies he approched very nere the cite: likewise therle of Shrewesbury with thee forward, gat into an holowe ground or valey nere to the citie. Daily the Frenchmen shot at thenglishmen, and diverse tymes issued out and skirmished, and ever thei lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce thei hurte diverse Englishmen. Wherfore the lordes commaunded the pioners to raise a great

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great trenche in whiche they laied the great ordinaunce, and daily as thei might they approched: syr Rise ap Thomas with the horsmen daily skowered the countrey, and many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diverse prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Upon the Mundaie beeyng the xxvii. daie of June xxiiii. Cartes charged with victaill, wer by the Garrison of Caleis conduited to Guisnes, and ther the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with three C. foote men, under the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, al beyng in nombre iiii. C. lx. men, set furthe to conduite the saied victailes to tharmie liyng before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsemen fel a drinkyng in the waie, and the foote men wer al out of ordre. The duke of Vandosme capitain generall of Picardie, which laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guysnes with viii. C. light horsemen, toke his advauntage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceivyng that losed their horses and fledd to the toune, whiche was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitain of Guysnes did al he could, to bryng the foote men in an ordre: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set theim in ordre, the horsmen of Guysnes whiche wer but onely xxiiii. toke their speres and joyned with the Frenchemen: the Archers of Englande whyche passed not lx. shot manfully, and a noble capitain called Baltier Delien and diverse other, but the Frenchemen wer so many in nombre and in good ordre, that thei slew viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guysnes, and xxx. Archers slain and many hurte, and so thei distrussed the victailes, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edward Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. This misaventure fell by tariyng of the horsmen and breaking of array, for if tharchers had taried together it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that held together, slewe and hurt diverse Frenchemen: For on the felde laie lxxxvii. great horse which never went thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemenne went not quite a waie without losse. When tidynges of this misaventure came to the lordes at the siege, thei wer not a litle displeased: and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the stirroppe, and he with his horsmen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the contrey, whiche hearyng

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hearyng of the commyng of sir Rise, with great hast retreted backe to Bangey Abbey, where the French kynges greate army laie. Sir Rise heryng that he was returned came the next day agayn to the sege. The rumour of this skyrmish sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, wherfore the tounes fiered ther bekons and range *alarme*, divers honorable men that had passed the see with companies of souldiours and were in Caleis, marched forward in order of battaile, but heryng of the departing of *Mounsir de vandosme*, they rested. Then was new provision made for vitaile and sent daily from Caleis to Turwyn by such conduite, that the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was wel vitaled out of Flaunders and Henawde.

The army of England thus lay before the strong toune of Turwin: the noble kinge of England not forgettyng his entreprice prepared al thing redy to passe the see in proper persone, and caused sir Jhon Wilshire to purvey for iii. C. hoyes to carry over his artillery and habilimentes of warre, and all his shippes of warre were on the see skowering every coste of his realme. And when all thinges were prest, he accompanied wyth many noble men and vi. C. archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines and cappes, departed from his manour royall of grenewich the xv. daye of June and so he and the quene with small jorneys came to Dover castell and there rested, and made the quene governer of the realme, and commaunded William Warram then bishop of Cantorbury and sir Thomas Lovell a sage knyght and divers other, to gyve there attendaunce on the quene. And commaunded therle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes woulde make any entreprice in his absence. Then the kyng toke leve of the quene and of the ladies which made such sorow for the departyng of their lordes and husbandes, that it was greate dolor to beholde, and so he with al his army toke his shippe the last day of June beyng the daye of sainct Paule.

In the mornyng when the kyng was shipped and made saile, al the army folowed, to the nomber of iiii. C. shippes, and the winde was so, that they were brought even on the coste of picardy open upon S. Jhons Roade, and with the flud they haled along the coste of Whitsand with trumpettes blowynge and gonnes shotynge, to the great feare of them of

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of Bolleyn which plainly might beholde this passage, and so came to Caleys haven.

The kyng was received into a bote covered with arras, and so was set on londe. He was appareilled in almaine ryvet crested and his vanbrace of the same, and on his hedde a chapeau montabyn with a rich coronal, the folde of the chapeau was lined with crimsyn saten, and on that a riche brooch with the image of sainct George, over his rivet he had a garment of white cloth of gold with a redde crosse, and so he was received with procession and with his deputie of Caleys called sir Gylbert Talbot, and all other nobles and gentlemen of the towne and countrey, and so entred in at the lanternegate and passed the stretes tyll he came to Saincte Nycholas churche, and ther he alighted and offered, and from thens he went to the stapleinne wher he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleys, al the banished men entred with him and were restored to the liberty of the toune. To tell of the gonne shott of the toune and of the shippes at the kynges landing it was a great wonder, for men of good estimacion reported that they harde it at Dover. The kyng lyenge thus in Caleys, all his armye except a few of his counsayll and other that gave their attendaunce on hym laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in which campe about a xi. of the clock at night there rose an eskrye, so that the towne of Caleys began *alarme*, with that the kyng waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yoman of the tentes, called Richard Gybson, shewed him howe that certayne horsmen and footmen of Fraunce, profered to come over the haven, and the archers that laie next the see side entred into the water and defended the passage, with which defence the Frenchmen returned, and so the kyng was satisfied. But after this a Frenchman of Whitsand bay and one of Bullain were taken, the one called Charles de bone, the other Peter vernowne, which confessed that from the toune of Whitsand came lx. horsmen and ii. C. footmen of the garrison of Bullein and the countrey adjoynyng entendyng to passe by Rice banke at the low water marke, over that haven of Caleis at a certayn foord, shewed to them by a spy which served the yoman of the tentes of vitailes, and shewed them that the tentes were piched under Caleis walles betwene the toune and the campe, so that thei might burne them

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them quykly or the toune could issue, or the campe remove. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you have heard that their entreprice came to none effect. The morow after being the first day of July, the noble lord Haward admirall of England landed at Whitsand Bay, and entred, spoyled and brent the toune, and returned to his ships for all the Bullonois, and so recompensed the imaginacion that the bayly of Whitsand and the Bullonoys had entreprised for the burning of the kynges tentes.

On fryday at night blew such a storme that severed all the navy, and some were drowned. Upon the viii. day of July, the lord Marques Dorset, therle of Essex, the lord Lisle rode into Flaunders and ther toke the mousters of the lord Lynny, the lord Walon, sonne to the lord of Barow, and bastard Emery which with ther retinue were then admitted into the kynges wages and the lord Linny with a C. and l. speres was appoincted to go to the lorde Herbert: and the lord Walon and bastard Emery with ther bondes were appointed to go to therle of Shrewsbury lieng before Tirwin: These strangers were warlycke persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tyrwyn as you have harde, the Frenchmen diverse times issued out on horseback and many a staffe was broken and manye a proper feat of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foot woulde diverse tymes issue out with handgonnes and morish pycks and assaile the Englishmen, but by force of the archers thei were ever driven home agayn, and every day the Englishmen shott at the towne and dyd them muche displeasure.

The xxi. day of July (when al thinges by counsaill had ben ordered concernyng the order of battayle) the kyng passed out of the toune of Caleis in goodly array of battaile and toke the felde: And notwithstandyng that the forward and the rerewarde of the kyngs great army were before Tirwyn as you have harde: Yet the kynge of his awne battayle made iii. battailles after the fasshion of the warre, the lord Lisle marshall of the hoste was capitaine of the forward, and under him iii. M. men. Sir Richard Carew with iii. C. men was the right hand wyng to the forward, and the lord Darcy with iii. C. men, wyng on the left hand, the skourers and forriders of this battaile were the Northumberland men on light geldynges. Therle of Essex was

Lieutenant

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Lieutenant generall of the speres, and sir Jhon Pechy was vicegovernour of the horsmen: before the kyng went viii. C. Almaynes all in a plumpe by them selfs: after them came the standard with the redde Dragon, next the banner of our lady, and next after the banner of the trinitie, under the same were all the kings houshold servauntes, then went the banner of the armes of England borne by sir Henry Guildford, under which banner was the kyng him self, with divers noble men and other to the nomber of iii. M. men. The duke of Buckyngham with vi. C. men was on the kyngs left hand egal with the Almaynes, in likewise on the right hand was sir Edward Pounynges with other vi. C. men egall with the Almaynes. The lord of Burgainie with viii. C. men, was wyng on the right hand, sir William Compton with the retinue of the bishop of Winchester, and master Wolsey the kings Almoner to the nomber of viii. C. was in maner of a rereward, sir Anthony Oughtred and sir Jhon Nevell with the kinges speres that folowed, were iiii. C. and so the hole army were xi. M. and iii. C. men. The master of the ordinaunce set foorth the kynges artilary, as fawcons, slynges, bombardes, cartes with powder, stones, bowes, arowes and such other thinges necessary for the felde, the hole nomber of the cariages were xiii. C. the leders and drivers of the same were xix. C. men and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightynge men there were not full ix. M.

Thus in order of battaile the kyng rode to Seutreyca and ther lodged the first night, on friday the garrison of Bulleyn mustered nye to Fines Mill and were askryed by the Northumberland men, which marched toward them, but the Frenchemen returned. On saterdaie the hoste removed to Hambwell and ther rested. On sonday, and on mondaie he entered into the Frenche grounde nye to Arde, and ther every gentleman had on his coate of armes, and these tydynges were brought to the kyng that the French army approched which tidinges pleased him well, for he desyred nothyng but battaile. Tewsday the xxvi. daye of July the kynge passed forward in order of battayle and ever the Frenchmen costed a farre of to take the Englyshmen at some avantage, but thei kept them so close in order, that they could not fynd them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the carters that mystooke the waye

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waye a greate Curtall called the Jhon evangelist, was overthrowen in a depe ponde of water, and coulde not quicklye be recovered.

The kyng heryng that his enemies approched, levyng the gonne (because the master carpenter sayde that he would shortely way it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornahan where is a fayre castell standyng in a wodde countrey, the Frenchmen were ever lurkyng in the woddes viewing the kyngs conduite and order as he passed, and so he lefte the towne of Dornahan on his right hande, and came to a village on a litle river where the ordinaunce pitched. And when the kyng came to the ryver he perceyved that many gentlemen made daunger to entre into the river: Wherfore he a lighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the river, then all other entred and came over. Then was tydynges brought to hym, that the Frenchmen were nere at hande and would fight that nyght: the kyng styll abode in order of battaile, ever lokynge for the commynge of the Frenchmen, and at night woorde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into hys tente.

The courage of the kyng.

Wednesday the xxvi. daye of July the releffe of the speres brought in askry, wherfore the kynge commaunded to blow to the standarde, and avaunced his banner and toke a faire feld or banke abidyng the comming of the Frenchmen. The capitaines generall of the army of the Frenche kyng were the lord dela Palice and the lorde of Piens, accompaignyed with the duke of Longuyle, therle of sainct Polle, the lorde of Floringes, the lorde Cleremounde, and Richard *dela Pole* traytour of England sonne to the duke Jhon of Suffolke: with these capitaines were comming xi. M. footmen and iiii. M. horsmen, all prest in battayle and came with in ii. miles of the kyng of Englande, and there the footmen staled and came no farther: certaine horsmen to the nomber of iii. M. and above marched forward and at the ende of a wodde shewed themselfes open in the sight of the Englishe army. The kyng perceivyng there demeanure, commaunded al his footmen not to remove, but to stand still. The Frenchmen removed and came sumwhat nerer to a place of execucion: then the master Gonner losed a pece of artilery or two. As the kyng lay thus styll abydyng his enemies, and

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and that the horsemen stode still in sight, the greate armye of Fraunce approched, whiche the Englishmen could not descrye by cause of an hyll that was betwexte them. The Northerne men ran to the Frenchmen, which manly encontered with them and strake some of them downe and maugre all there powre brought certaine prisoners to the kyng of England. Therle of Essex capitaine of the kynges speres with ii. C. speres lay in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nerer. Then sodainly apered in sight a great company of horsmen and the kyng knewe not what thei were: but at the last it was perceyved that it was the valiant knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue whiche came to the kyng aboute none: which gentilly receyved him and sent hym to therle of Essex, which incontinentely departed and compassed the hill and came to therle, and when they were joyned, they drewe them about the hyll accompaignied with sir Thomas Gylforde capitayne of ii. C. archers on horseback, to thentent to have set on the Frenchmen, which perceivyng that, and dowghting more nomber to come after, sodainly drewe back and joyned them with there great battaile. Then therle of Essex and thenglishe horsmen folowed them tyll they came nere the great army of Fraunce and then staled, and sent light horsemen to knowe the conduite of the French army. When the Frenchmen of armes were retorned to ther battaile, both the footmen and horsmen reculed in order of battell and went back a pace, the Englyshe styrrers perceyvyng this, folowed iii. leages and returned to therle, makynge reporte of that they had sene, and then he brake up his stale and came to the kyng, declaryng to him how the Frenshemen were reculed. Thys daye was called the drye wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hoat and the kyng and his army were in order of battaile from vi. of the clock in the mornyng tyll iii. of the clock at after noone, and some died for lack of moysture and allmost in general every man was burned about the mouth with hete of the stomack, for drynke lacked and water was not nere. After this, the kyng removed towarde Tyrwyn havyng his horsmen behind hym, lest the Frenshmen shoulde sodainly sett on hym behynde, and as the kyng was settyng forward, the lorde Walowne of Flaunders came to the kyng with his horsmen which were in the kynges wages, and the kyng declared to

The dry Wednesday.

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to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a lane, was overthrowen one of the kinges great bombardes of Iron, called the redde gonne, and there left: When the night began to approche the kyng rested and toke his campe ii. myles from sainct Omers on the north syde.

On the thursdaye beyng the xxviii. day of July the master carpenter with an hundred carpenters and laborers without knowledge of the marshal went to waye up the great gonne that was in the ponde as you have harde, and by force of engynes drewe it up and laied it on a carte redy to cary: But sodainly out of a wodde issued viii. C. Frenchmen with speres, crosbowes and handgonnes, and assayled the poore labourers which valiantly defended themselfes: but oppressed with multitude, the most parte was slayne and the remnant taken, and they and the pece of ordinaunce caried to bulleyne. This misaventure fel, for the master carpenter would woorke all of his awne hedde without counsayll, with which chaunce the kyng was sore displeased. The Frenchmen joyous of this chaunce, assembled a great nomber, to take the other gonne that lay still in the high way. Wherfore the lorde barnes beyng capiteyne of the pioners and laborers heryng of the misaventure, and considerynge that the other gonne was lyeng behynd prepared al maner of engines to recover the same. The morow after, the kyng entended to reyse his camp, but when he harde of the great pece of ordinaunce that was left behynde, and that the Frenshmen assembled together, he was in a greate musynge and so taryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retrate backe and to succour them that went for the pece of ordinaunce. The Almaynes went foorth and staled within two mile, where the pece of ordinaunce lay, and farther thei woulde not go. The earle of Essex with his company of speres, sir Rice ap Thomas, with his compaignie, sir Jhon Nevell with the Northumberland men set forward to helpe the lord Barnes for recovery of the gonne. And sodainly the northren horsmen espied where al the great army of the Frenshmen were commyng forward, and so reported to therle of Essex, that to sir Jhon pechy Lieutenant of the horsemen and speres and other capitaines, whiche were in the place where the said gonne was left with a hundred horsmen,

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horsmen, which hering therof sent worde to sir Rice, which hering therof desired the erle of Essex to come and to take grounde in that place where he was, which removed in greate haste: In the meane season by the diligent labor of the Lord Barnes, the pece of ordinaunce was raysed and carted, and furthe was it caried, by this tyme the French army apered in sight.

When therle of Essex saw the great nomber of the Frenchmen, in all hast he sent to the lord Walon, willyng him with his company to come to there ayde, the lord Waloun sayd to the messenger, go tel your capitayne that I come hither to serve the kyng of England more then one daye, and therfore I would all thenglishmen would returne, for with the great power of Fraunce thei be not able to fight, for I esteme them ix. or x. M. men at the lest: with this aunswer the messenger departed and made relacion to the erle of Essex and other capitaynes which there with were sore discontent: by this time the scowrers of the French parte were come harde to the handes of the Englishmen: then began the light horsmen to skyrmyshe, ther was folowyng and reskuinge on both parties, and in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the hole battaile of the Frenchmen with standardes, penons and banners waveryng, and sumptuous bardes, and riche harnys glyteryng, the men of armes in great nomber were in ranges a long redy to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a man of great experience, sagely perceyved in what case the matter stode, sayd to therle of Essex, sir we be not vii. C. horsmen, let us not be to folysh hardy, our commission was to fette the gonne and none other, let us folowe the same, therle agreed therto and so softely and not in flyeng maner retreted and folowed the gonne. The Frenchmen perceivyn that, cried al is ours let us folowe, then pricked forward ii. M. men of armes and came juste to the backes of the Englishmen, then thenglishemen cried sainct George and cast them selfe about and made retorne to the Frenchmen, sir William Tyler and sir Jhon sharpe were the first charged, and after all the other Englishmen, there was a dreadfull chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce flede so fast, that glad was he that might be formost, the hole hoost seynge ther horsmen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great hast returned without

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without any more doyng. Then the erle of Essex staled to an hyll, and ther caused his trompet to blowe to the standard for feare of subtyll dealynge: and when they were gathered together unto array, he returned.

The xxix. daye of July the kyng with his army came to Arkus, and there embattailed him selfe in a strong grounde, and to hym came the erle of Essex and the other capitaines with the gonne, and made reporte of ther adventure, which thanked them hartely, and ther he lay till Monday in whiche time came many noble men of Flaunders to visite him, and many of the common people came to se hym.

Mondaye the fyrste daye of Auguste, the kynge removed his campe to a village myddell way betwene Saynct Omers and Tyrwyn, and ther fell suche a rayne that the ordynaunce coulde scace be removed, the arable grounde was so softe.

Tirwyn beseged.

Thursday the iiii. day of August, the kyng in good order of battaile came before the citie of Tyrwyn and planted his sege in most warlikewise, his campe was environed with artilerie, as Fawcones, serpentynes, caste hagbushes, and tryde harowes, spien trestyls, and other warlike defence for the savegarde of the campe. The kynge for hym selfe had a howse of tymber with a chymney of yron, and for his other lodgynges he had great and goodly tentes of blewe water worke garnyshed with yelowe, and white, diverse romes within the same for all offices necessary, on the toppe of the pavilions stode the kynges bestes holdynge fanes, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Greyhounde, the Antelope, the Donne kowe: within all the lodgynge was poyncted ful of the sunnes risynge, the lodgynge was C. xxv. foot in length.

The kyng lyeng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaunce sore bet the toune walles, and thei within likewise shot out of the towne ordinaunce, and slewe divers Englyshmen in the trenches, among which shottes thei had one gonne that every day and night was ordinarely shotte at certayne howres without fayle: this gonne was of Thenglishmen called the whystelyng gonne, but it never did harme in the kynges feld. The siege thus lyeng before the citie of Tyrwyn, Sir Alexander Baynam a capitaine of the myners, caused a myne to be enterprised to enter into the towne, but

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but the Frenchmen perceyvyng that, made a countermyne and so destroyed the other myne, and divers myners slayne within the same. The Frenche army hoved ever a farre to take the Englishmen at avantage as thei went a forragyng, and many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes acheved on bothe sydes, and divers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horsmen called Stradiotes with shorte styroppes, bever hatts, smal speres, and swerdes like Semiteries of Turkay: dyvers tymes the Northren light horsmen under the conduite of sir Jhon Nevell skirmished with these stradiottes and toke diverse of them prisoners, and brought them to the kyng.

While the kynge lay thus before Tyrwyn, the capitayne of Bullen knowynge by hys espialles that many of the garryson of Caleys were with the kyng at the siege, and also that daylye vitailles were brought out of Englande to Caleys to succour the campe, imagened a great entreprice and sent for all the men of warre under his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they shoulde obteyne yf they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleis, the kyng of England beyng on that syde the see. The men of warre perceivyng the good courage of the capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so wyth all diligence they to the nomber of a M. men in the evenyng set forward, and came to Newnam bridge by iii. of the clock in the morning, and founde the watchmen that kepe the bridge a slepe, and so entred the bulwerke and slewe the watchmen, and toke the ordinaunce of the bridge and then let the bridge fall, so that all entred that would. The capitayn of Bulleyn kept vi. C. men for a stale at the bridge, and sent the other into the marrishes and medowes where the Cattell fedde, and some of the Frenshmen came to Caleys gate, and were askryed of the watch and so range *alarme*, the Englishe souldiours ran to the walles, and sawe the Frenshemen without the toune walles: then they knew that Newnam brydge was lost, and would have issued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbott deputie ther, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Now it happened that without Caleys gates were Richard Hunnyng and Richard Brickes of the Caterie, and iii. or iiii. of the kyngs servauntes whych lay there to sende provisions to the hoost: whiche heryng of this *alarme*, called to them the kynges bakers, and cowpers, and a fewe shippemen, which lay in

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in the haven, and coragiously folowed the Frenchmen. Thenglishemen were not past vi. skore persones, and set on the Frenchemen as thei were a forragyng or they might assemble together, and slew them doune right and toke no prisoners in maner, and so thei came to Newnam brydge and toke it and put the Frenchmen backe: But or Thenglishmen had thus gathered them selfes together, the Frenchmen had forraged all with in the river up to sainct Peters, and had driven away the cattell and the ordinaunce of Newnam brydge and so passed till they came where the stale laye, and ther they taried lokyng for ther company that were gone a forragyng to Caleys walles. About v. of the clock in the morenynge, the gate of Caleys called Bulleyn gate, was opened, and then issuyd out one Culpiper the under marshall with ii. C. archers with the banner of Saincte George, and with great hast came to Newnam bridge, where thei found the kynges servauntes and the other that had wonne the brydge, and then they all together marched toward the Frenchemen, whiche kepte the stale. The Frenchmen thought it had ben there awne company that had returned, till they saw the banner of S. George, then they knewe that their company were overthrowen, and that they must nedes fight or dy. Then thenglishmen though thei were the smaller nomber, valiantly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last thei were all discomfited and xxiiii. slayne and xii. skore taken prisoners and ther ordinaunce and hole booty recovered. These prisoners were brought to Caleys, and there sold in open market: Amonge all other a Cowper of the towne of Caleys bought a prisoner of this booty that dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner C. crownes for his raunsome, and when the mony was paied, the Frenchman praied the Cowper to se him save delivered and to conduite hym out of danger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of hys frendes, all alone went with the Frenchman till he came beyonde the Cawsey and ther would have departed: but the Frenchman perceived, that the Cowper was aged and that no reskewes was ny, by force toke the Cowper prisoner and caried him to Bulleyn, and made him paye ii. C. crownes for his raunsome, thus thorowe foly was the poore Cowper deceaved.

The foly of a Cowper.

The

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The xi. day of August beyng thursday, the kyng lyeng at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian themperour was in the toune of Ayre. The kyng prepared all thinges necessarie to mete with themperour in triumphe. The noble men of the kynges campe were gorgeously apparelled, ther coursers barded of cloth of gold, of damaske and broderie, theire apparelle all tissue cloth of gold and sylver, and gold smithes woorke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold, and belles of bullion, but in especial the duke of Buckingham, he was in purple satten, his apparel and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold mervelous costly and pleasaunt to behold. The kyng was in a garment of greate riches in juels as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the mayster of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse, the henxmen folowed beryng the kyngs peces of harnys, every one mounted on a greate courser, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graungarde, the thirde his spere, the fourth his axe, and so every one had some thyng belongyng to a man of armes: the apparell of the ix. henxmen were white clothe of gold and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdered with goldesmythes worke, the trappers of the corsers were mantell harneys coulpened, and in every vent a long bel of fyne gold, and on every pendant a depe tassel of fyne gold in bullion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The kyng and themperour mett betwene ayre and the campe, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath bene sene. Themperour gentely enterteined the kyng, and the kyng likewyse hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwen them, by cause the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all hys men were at that daie al in black cloth for the Emprice his wife was lately disseased. After that the kyng was thus retorned to his campe, within a daye or twayne ther arryved in the army a kynge of armes of Scotland called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and desyred to speke with the kynge, who with in shorte tyme was by Garter cheffe kyng of armes brought to the kynges presence, where he beyng almost dismayed seynge the kyng so nobly accompanied, with fewe woordes, and metely good reverence, delivered a letter to the king, which received the

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the letter and redde it him selfe, and when he had redde it, without anye more delay he him selfe aunswered after this sorte. Nowe we perceyve the kyng of Scottes our brother in law and your master to be the same person whome we ever toke hym to be, for we never estemed hym to be of any truthe and so now we have founde it, for notwithstandynge his othe, his promise in the woord of kyng, and his awne hand and seale, yet nowe he hath broken his faith and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for ever, and entendeth to invade our realme in our absence which he dirst not ones attempte, our person beynge presente, but he sheweth him self not to be degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes for the most parte hath ever ben violated and ther promises never observed, farther then they liste. Therfore tell thy master, first that he shall never be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, and also that I suspecting his treuth (as now the dede proveth) have left an erle in my realme at home which shalbe able to defende him and all his powre, for we have provided so, that he shall not fynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do: but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotland, and that he holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much as now contrary to his bounden duety he, beinge my vassall, doth rebel against me, with Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme, and so tell him: sir sayd the kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subjecte, and he my naturall lord, and that he commaundeth me to say, I may boldely saye with favor, but the commaundementes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my sovereigne lorde, but your letters maye with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woordes of reproche to him whome I owe only my allegeaunce and fayth. Then sayd the kynge, wherfore came you hyther, will you receyve no aunswere? yes sayde Lion, your answere requireth doyng and no writyng, that is, that immediatly you should returne home: well said the kynge, I wyll returne to your domage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the kyng commaunded garter to take hym to his tente and make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was sore appalled: after he was departed, the

the kyng sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all hys counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof foloweth woorde, by woorde.

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THE LETTER OF THE KYNGE OF SCOTTES.

'RIGHT excellent, right high, and myghty Prince, our 'deerest brother and Cousyng, we commaund us 'unto you in our mayst harty maner, and re- 'ceyved Fra Raff heraulde your letters quharuntill, ye 'approve and allow the doynges of your commissioners 'lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the 'realmes for makyng of redresse, quylkē is thought to 'you and your counsell should be continnet and delaet to 'the xv. day of October. Als ye write, slaars by see 'aught not compere personally, but by their attorneis. 'And in your other letters with our heraulde Ilay, ye 'ascertaine us ye wil nought entre in the treux taken 'betwext the maste Christian kyng and your father of 'Aragon because ye and other of the hale liege, nether 'should ne may take peace, treux nor abstinence of warr 'with your common enemy, without consent of all the 'confederates. And that the Emperour kyng of Aragon, 'ye and every of you be bounden to make actuall warre 'this instant somer agaynst youre common enemie. And 'that so to do is concluded and openly sworne in Paules 'kyrke at London upon sainct Markes daye last by past. 'And ferther have denyed saveconduyte upon oure re- 'questes that a servitor of ours might have resorted your 'presence, as our herauld Ilay reportes: Right excellent 'right high and mightie Prince our derest brother and 'Cousyng, the sayed metyng of our and your commissioners 'at the borders was peremptorily appyncted betwyxt you 'and us eftir diverse dietes for reformacion before con- 'tynued to the Commissioners metyng, to effecte that due 'redresse suld have ben made at the sayde metynge, lyke 'as for our parte, our Commissioners offered to have 'made that time: And for your part na malefactour was 'then arrested to the saide diet. And to glose the same, 'ye nowe wright, that slaars by see nede not compere 'personally,

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‘ personally, but by their attourneys, quylk is agayne lawe
‘ of God and man. And gefe in crimenall accion, all slaars
‘ sulbe nought compere personally, na punicion sulde
‘ folowe for slaughter, and than vane it were to seke
‘ farther metynges or redresse. And hereby apperes as
‘ the dede shewes, that ye wyll nouther kepe gude weyes
‘ of justice and equitie nor kyndnes with us, the greate
‘ wronges and unkyndnes done before to us and our lyeges
‘ we ponderate quhilk we have suffered this long time in
‘ upberyng maynswerynge noundressynge of Attemptates, so
‘ as the byll of the taken of in haldyng of bastard Heron
‘ with his complices in your countre quha slewe our wardan
‘ under traist of dayes of metyng for justice, and therof
‘ was filat and ordaynt to be delyvered in slaynge of our
‘ liege noble men under colour by your folkes, in takynge
‘ of uthers oute of oure realme, prisonet and cheinet by
‘ the cragges in your contre, with halding of our wifes
‘ legacie promist in your diverse letters for dispite of us,
‘ slaughter of Andrew Barton by your awne commaund quha
‘ than had nought offended to you nor your lieges unre-
‘ dressed, and breakynge of the amitie in that behalfe by your
‘ dede, and with haldynge of our shippes and artilarie to
‘ your use, quharupon eft our diverse requisitions at your
‘ wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe,
‘ ye wrate and als shewe by uthers unto us, that ful
‘ redresse suld be made at the sayde metynge of com-
‘ missioners, and sa were in hope of reformacion, or at the
‘ lest ye for our sake walde have desisted fra invasion of
‘ our frendes and Cousynges with in their awne countres
‘ that have nought offended at you as we firste required
‘ you in favoure of oure tendre Cousynge the duke of
‘ Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye send your
‘ folkes and dudde that was in them. And right sawe
‘ latly desyred for our brother and Cousynge the mast
‘ Christen kynge of Fraunce, quham ye have caused to
‘ tyne his countre of Millaigne, and nowe invades his selfe
‘ quha is with us in secunde degree of blude, and hase ben
‘ unto you kynde witoute offense and more kyndar than
‘ to us: notwithstandyng in defense of his persone we
‘ mon take parte, and therto ye because of uthers have
‘ geven occasion to us and to oure lyeges in tyme by past,
‘ nouther doyng justly nor kyndely towardes us, procedynge
‘ alwayes

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'alwayes to the utter destruction of oure nereste frendes, 'quha mon doo for us quhan it shall be necessarie. In 'evyll example that ye wyll hereafter be better unto us 'quham ye lightlye favoure, manifestlye wranged your 'sister for our sake incontrary our writtes. And sayeng 'unto our herauld that we give you fayre wordes and 'thinkes the contrary, in dede suche it is, we gave you 'wordes as ye dudde us, trustynge that ye shoulde have 'emended to us or worthin kyndar to oure frendes for 'our sakes, and sulde nougtight have stopped oure servi-'tors passage to laboure peax, that thei might as the papes 'halines exherted us by his brevites to do. And ther-'apon we were contented to have oversene our harmes 'and to have remitted the same, though uther informacion 'was made to our haly father pape July by the Cardinall 'of Yorke youre Ambassadour. And sen ye have now 'put us fra all gude beleve through the premisses, and 'specially in denyenge of saveconduyte to our servauntes 'to resorte to your presence, as your ambassadour doctor 'west instantly desyred we sulde sende one of oure coun-'sayll unto you apon greate matters, and appoynctyng of 'differentes debatable betwixt you and us, furtheryng of 'peax yf we might betwyxt the most Christen kyng and 'you, we never harde to this purpose saveconduite denied 'betwixte infideles. Herfore we write to you this tyme 'at length playnes of our mynde, that we require and 'desyre you to desiste fra farther invasion and utter de-'struccion of our brother and Cousynge the mayst Christen 'kynge, to whome by all confederacion bloude and alye 'and also by newe bande, quhilk ye have compelled us 'lately to take through your injuries and harmes without 'remedy done daily unto us, our lieges and subdites, we 'are bounden and oblist for mutuall defence ilke of uthers, 'like as ye and your confederates be oblist for mutuall in-'vasions and actuall warre: Certifienge you we will take 'parte in defence of our brother and Cousyng the maist 'Christen kyng. And wil do what thing we trayest may 'crast cause you to desist fra persuite of hym, and for 'denyt and pospoynct justice to oure lieges we mon gyve 'letters of Marque accordyng to the amitie betwixte you 'and us, quharto ye have had lyttell regarde in time by 'past, as we have ordaint our herauld the bearer herof to 'saie,

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'saie, gife it like you to here him and gyfe him credence: 'right excellent, right high and mighty Prince our derest 'brother and Cousyng, the Trinitie have you in kepyng. 'Geven under our signet at Edynborowe the xxvi. daye 'of July.

When the kynge rede this letter, he sente it in all haste to the Earle of Surrey into England, whyche then lay at Pomfrett, and caused an other letter to be devised to the kyng of Scottes, the copie whereof foloweth.

'Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, etc. and 'have received your writyng, Dated at Edenburgh the 'xxvi. day of July by your heraulde Lyon this bearer, 'wherin after rehersall and accumulacion of many sur-'mised injuries, grefes and damages doone by us and our 'subjectes to you and your lieges, the specialites wherof 'were superfluous to reherse, remembryng that to theim 'and every of theim in effect reasonable aunswere founded 'upon law and conscience hath tofore ben made to you 'and youre counsail, ye not only require us to desiste 'from farther invasion and utter destruction of your 'brother and Cousyng the Frenche kyng, but also certifie 'us that you will take parte in defence of the sayd kyng, 'and that thyng which ye trust may rather cause us to 'desiste, from persuite of him, with many contrived occa-'sions and communications by you causeles sought and 'imagined, sowninge to the breache of the perpetuall peace, 'passed, concluded and sworne, betwixt you and us, of 'which your imagined querelles causeles devised to breake 'to us contrarye to your othe promised, all honor and kind-'nesse: We cannot marvayle, consydering the auncient 'accustomable maners of youre progenitours, whyche never 'kepte lenger fayth and promyse than pleased them. 'Howebeit, yf the love and dread of God, nighnes of 'bloud, honor of the worlde, lawe and reason, had bound 'you, we suppose ye woulde never have so farre proceded, 'specially in our absence. Wherin the Pope and all Princes 'christened may wel note in you, dishonorable demeanour 'when ye liyng in awayte seke the wayes to do that in our 'sayd absence, whych ye would have bene wel advised to 'attempte, we beyng wythin our Realme and presente. 'And for the evydent approbacion hereof, we nede none 'other proves ne witnesse but your owne writinges heretofore

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'to us sent, we beynge wythin our Realme, wherin ye 'never made mencion of taking parte wyth our enemie the 'Frenche kynge, but passed the tyme wyth us tyll after our 'departure from our sayde Realme. And now percase ye 'supposinge us so farre from our said realme to be destitute 'of defence agaynste youre invasions, have uttered the olde 'rancor of youre minde, whiche in covert maner ye have 'long kepte secrete. Neverthelesse, we remembrynge the 'britilnes of your promise and suspectynge though not 'wholy belevyng so much unstedfastnes, thought it ryght-'expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a redines 'for resisting of your saide enterprises, havyng firme trust 'in our Lord God and the rightwisnes of our cause with 'thassistence of our confederates and Alies wee shalbee able 'to resist the malice of all Scismatyques and their adherentes 'beynge by the genarall counsayll expresselye excommuni-'cate and interdicted, trustinge also in tyme conveniente 'to remember our frendes, and requite you and oure 'enemies, which by suche unnatural demeanour have geven 'sufficiente cause to the dysheryson of you and your pos-'teritie for ever from the possibilitie that ye thinke to have 'to the realme, whiche ye now attempte to invade. And 'yf the example of the kyng of Navarre beinge excluded 'from his royalme for assistence geven to the Frenche king 'cannot restraine you from thys unnaturall dealinge, we 'suppose ye shall have like assistence of the sayde Frenche 'kinge as the kinge of Navarre hath now: Who is a kinge 'withoute a realme, and so the French kynge peaceably 'suffereth hym to contynue wherunto good regarde woulde 'be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this oure 'writing, we nede not to make any further aunswer to 'the manyfolde greves by you surmised in youre letter: 'forasmuche as yf any lawe or reason coulde have removed 'you from youre sensuall opinions, ye have bene manie and 'often tymes sufficiently aunswered to the same: Excepte 'onelye to the pretended greves towchynge the deniynge of 'of our saveconduyte to your Ambassadoure to bee last 'sent unto us: Where unto we make this aunswere, that we 'had graunted the sayde saufeconduite, and yf your herauld 'would have taken the same with him lyke as he hathe bene 'accustomed to sollicitie saufeconduytes for marchauntes 'and others heretofore, ye might as sone have had that, as 'any

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'any other, for we never denied saufeconduyte to any youre 'lieges to come unto us and no further to passe, but we 'se wel, lyke as your sayde herauld had heretofore made 'sinister reporte contrary to trueth so hath he done nowe in 'this case as it is manifest and open. Fynally, as towching 'your requisition to desist from farther attemptyng againste 'our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no com-'petent judge of so high authoritie to require us in that 'behalfe: wherfore God willyng we purpose with the ayde 'and assistence of our confederates and Alies to persecute 'the same, and as ye do to us and our realme, so it shalbe 'remembred and acquited herafter by the help of our lord 'and our patrone S. George. Who righte excellent, ryghte 'hyghe and mightie Prynce, etc. Yeven under our signet 'in our campe before Tyrwyn the xii. daye of August.'

When thys letter was written and sealed, the kynge sent for Lyon the Scottishe herauld, and declared to him that he had wel considered his maisters letter, and therto had made a reasonable answere, and gave to him in reward a hundred angels, for which reward he humbly thanked the kyng and so taried with gartier alnight, and ever he sayd that he was sorye to thinke what domage shoulde be done in Englande by his mayster or the kinge returned, and so the next day he departed into Flaunders wyth hys Letter to have taken shyppe to sayle into Scotlande, but or he coulde have shyppe and wynde hys mayster was slayne.

After the defiaunce declared by the king of Scottes herauld, the king of England wrote to the quene and other which he had left behynd of his counsayl, to prepare in al haste for the defence of the sayde kynge of Scottes, which so did with great diligence as you shal heare shortly after. Whyle the king lay thus at siege before Tyrwyn, the Frenchmen studied al the wayes possible how to vitayle the towne of Tyrwyn, and imagined in a nyght by some waye to convey vitayle to the towne: wherfore every day they sent stradiates to espie by whiche way they mighte take their most avantage, and many times the Englishe horsmen met with the stradiates and of them slewe parte.

The French kynge woulde in any wyse that the kyng of Englande shoulde bee foughte wyth all, wherfore he sent the duke of Vandosme, the duke of Longuile with diverse other valiant captains of Blangoy. Then was there a conclusion

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clusion taken that the duke of Alanson should with v. M. men fyght with the erle of Shrewsbury, or els to kepe that nother he nother the lord Harbert should aide or come to the kynges battayle, and with the king should skyrmysh the duke of Vandosme and Longuyle, whyle in the meane season the cariages with vitayle myght entre the toune. For accomplishyng of this enterpryse, the Frenchmen made greate purveaunce and al on horsebacke, this was not so secretly concluded but the kyng of England had an ynkelyng therof, and sent worde to the Emperour which lay at Ayre and knewe nothyng of this devyse and desyred hym to come to the campe to have his advyse: which gladly aunswered that he woulde come the morowe after. The kyng continually sent forth his light horses to seke the countrey and to se yf anye apparaunce wer, and they ever brought tidinges of such things as thei saw, so that alwayes it was forsene that the kyng nor hys people shuld be taken unpurveied, nor the Frenchmen shoulde not come on them sodainly unaskried.

While these thinges were thus in commonynge and immagenyng, themperour Maximilian and all his servauntes, whyche were reteined with the king of England in wages by the day, every person accordinge to his degre, and Themperour as the kinges souldioure ware a Crosse of saynte George wyth a Rose, and so he and al his traine came to the kinges campe the xiii. day of August beyng Fridaye, and there was receyved wyth greate magnificence and broughte to a tente of cloth of golde all ready appareled accordynge to hys estate, for all the tente within was syled wyth clothe of golde and blewe velvet, and all the blewe velvet was embrowdered with H. K. of fyne golde, and hys cupboorde was rychely furnyshed and officers appoyncted to geve on hym attendaunce: and there he taried tyl Sonday, and from thence he went agayne to Ayre for his pleasure. The kyng and his counsayl were informed by their espialles, and also it was confessed by certayne prisoners, howe the French army which lay at Blangoy, entended to vitail the cytie of Tyrwyn. Wherefore on Fridaye at nighte, the xiii. daye of Auguste the Duke of Buckyngham, the Earle of Essex, the Marques Dorset the Lorde of Burgaynye, the Lorde Willoughby, and diverse other gentlemen wyth vi. thousand men on foote and the Lorde Walon and the Lorde Ligny

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Ligny with ther horsemen were layed at Gingate on the south syde of Tyrwyn, where they were all nyghte in order of battayle, awaytynge the reskewe of the citie, but the Englyshmen were askryed, and so the Frenchmen brake their purpose for that time: and so the duke of Buckyngham and hys compaygnions returned to the campe. Mondaye the xiii. daye of Auguste by infortune, wythoute anye cause knowen, there fell a greate debate betwene the Almaynes of the kynges felde and Thenglyshmen, in so muche that they fell to fightinge and many men slayne, the Almaynes sodaynely ranne to the kynges ordinaunce and toke it, and embattayled them selfes, and bent the ordinaunce agaynst the kinge and his campe. Thenglyshmen were greately fumed with this matter: in so muche the archers set forward to have joyned with the Almaynes, and they lykewyse prepared their pykes, but the capytaynes tooke suche payne that the fray was appesed and al things done for that time, but as this commocion was in troublen the Emperour came from Ayre and saw al the demener of both parties and was glad to se the discrete handelyng of the capitaynes. After Themperour was come to the kinges feld, the king called Themperour and all the lordes of his counsayll together asserteyninge them that he was credibly enformed that the Frenchmen entended to reskew the citie of Tyrwyn, wherefore it was agreed that the mayster of the ordynaunce shoulde in haste make fyve bridges over the water for the armye to passe over, to thentent to besiege the citie on that syde: the carpenters dyd so there dever that nyght, so that by daye al the brydges were made, so that all the horssemen passed over and askryed the countrey. On Tewsdaye the xvi. day of August the kynge reysed his campe, and wyth greate ordinaunce and all other artilerie and cariage he passed the Ryver, and to him came Sir Jhon Nevel with hys lyghte horssemen and tolde hym that behynde the tower of Gingate was a great plumpe of horsemen. In the meane season, as sir Jhon Nevel told the kinge these tidinges, by another waye was the Erle of Essex, Sir Jhon Peche and the kings speres passed and skirmished with the plump of speres that Sir Jhon spake of, and there were manye profers made on both sides, but in conclusion the Frenchmen wer compelled to leave their stale, and one horseman taken and sente to the kynge whyche in hope of pardon of his raunsome shewed howe

howe that the Frenche armye with their full power and strength were comming from Blangoy the nomber of fyftene thousande horssemen of armes to ayde Tyrwyn on that side of the water. And to thentente that the armye of the Lorde Stuarde, and the Lorde Chamberlayne shoulde not ayde the kynge, there wer appoyncted fyve thousande of the fiftene thousande horssemen on the other side of the water. As these tidinges was tolde came one from Sir Ryce, and sayde that a prisoner that he had that day taken, confessed that the citie shoulde be reskowed the same day, and that he had askryed a nomber of horssemen to hys judgemente uppon the poyncte of six thousande. Then sodaynely came the Northren menne, whyche affirmethe, that they had sene the Frenche armye in ordre of battayle commynge forwarde, but they judged them not paste twelfe thousande menne. Then the kynges felde was pytched and the ordynaunce set, but some counsayled the kynge to take doune hys tentes but the kinge sayde I will this daye that my felde be made and sette in as royall wise as maye bee, and all my ryche tentes sette up, whyche was done. Then the kynge called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded hym to kepe his felde, treasure ordynaunce and other stuffe, which was lothe to go from hys Mayster but by streyte commaundemente. Then everye man prepared hym selfe to battayle resortynge to the standarde, the horsemen marched before the footmen by the space of a myle, still came curroures berynge tydynges that the Frenche armye approched. The kynge bad sette forwarde and to avaunce hys banner in name of God and sainct George. The Almanies seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodaynelye embateled them selfes on the lefte hande of the kinge and lefte the breste or fronte of the kynges battayle bare. As the kynge was thus marchinge forwarde towarde the battayle, to hym came the Emperoure Maximilian wyth xxx. men of armes, he and al his company armed in on sute with redde crosses: then by the counsayll of the Emperour the kynge caused certayne peces of small ordinaunce to bee layed on the toppe of a longe hyll or banke for the oute skowerers: Thus the kynges horssemen and a fewe archers on horssebacke marched forwarde. The kynge woulde fayne have bene afore wyth the horssemen, but hys counsayll perswaded hym the contrarye, and so he taryed wyth the footmen accompanied wyth themperour.

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The Frenchmen came on in iii. ranges xxxvi. mens thickenes and wel they perceived the kinges battayle of footmen marching forward: the erle of Essex capitayne of the horsemen, and sir Jhon Peche with the kinges horsmen and the Burgonions to the nomber of a xi. C. stode with banner displaied in a valey. The Lorde Walonne and the lord Ligny with bastarde Emery and there bend to the nomber of iiii. C. horsmen severed them selfes and stode a syde from the Englishmen: so then thenglishmen were but vii. C. yet they with banner displayed removed up to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with sir Jhon Gilford a C. talle archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchmen. Now on the toppe of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the lefte hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falow felde. The lord Walonne and the burgonions kepte them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standardes displaied. Then came to the capitaines of Thenglishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenseux and saide, in Gods name set forward, for the victory is youres for I se by them, they will not abyde, and I wyll go wyth you in my coate of armes. Then the horsemen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all a long a village side called Bomy: the Frenchmen came on wyth xxxiii. standardes displayed and the archers shot a pace and galled their horses, and the English speares set on freshly, crieng sainct George, and fought valyantly with the Frenchmen and threw done their standarde, the dust was greate and the crye more, but sodaynly the Frenchmen shocked to their standarde and fled and threw awaye their speres, swerdes and mases and cut of the bardes of their horses to ronne the lighter, when the hinder part saw the former flye, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the Englysh horsemen mounted up the hil, the stradiates were commynge doune wardes on the one syde of the hill before the French host, which sodainly saw the banners of the Englysh horsemen, and the kinges battayl folowyng upwarde, wening to them that all had bene horsmen, then thei cast them self about and fledde, the Frenchmen wer so fast in array that the stradiates could have no entre, and so they ran stil by thendes of the ranges of the French army: and when they behinde saw the fall

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of their standardes and their stradiates in whome they had greate confidence retorne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then up pranced the Burgonions and folowed the chace: thys battayle was of horsmen to horsemen but not in egal nomber, for the Frenchmen wer tenne to one, whyche had not bene sene before tyme, that the Englyshe horssemen gatt the vyctorye of the men of armes of Fraunce. The Frenchemen call this battaylle the journey of Spurres because they ranne awaye so faste on horssebacke. Thys battayll was the xvi. daye of Auguste, in the whyche battayle was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Earle of Dunoys whyche had maryed the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the Lorde Cleremounde and manye other noble men to the nomber of twelve skore and all broughte to the kynges presence, and lykewise al the standardes and banners were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame wente that *Mounsire de la palayce* was by them taken and lett go. Thenglyshemen folowed the chace thre mile longe, from the felde to a water in a valeye, and there a Frencheman sayde to Sir Gyles Capell, that one daye they woulde have a daye, whyche aunswered hym agayne in Frenche that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so the Englishmen returned to the kynge, whyche was commynge forwarde who gave them thankes wyth great praysynges for the valyantnes, and there he made Sir Jhon Pech Banneret and made Jhon Car knight whyche was sore hurte, and Sir Jhon Peche had hys guyd home taken and divers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the kynge retreted to Gingate, to whom came sir Rise and shewed him how hoat the Frenchmen had skirmished with hym all daye on the other syde of the ryver, and how therle of Shrewsbury with banner displayed was al day prest in ordre of battayle to have fought with the duke Alanson and therle of sainct Polle and the lord of Floringes which with v. M. men as you have heard were appoincted to reskewe the toune on that syde, where the Lord of Shrewsbury lay, and to let him to come to aid the king, but how soever that it happened, they stode stil and came not doune but onelye skirmished with sir Rice. The citie of Tyrwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they saw their helpers comming nere they the same day proudely issued out on the lord Harbert and skirmished with

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with his people very valiantly, and thei within also shot out ordinaunce of al partes. The lorde Harbert and his captaines coragyouslye defended them, and so sore they set on the Frenchmen, that they drave them by force to their gates for al their succors, and many of them wer slaine: this night the kinge sent for the duke of Longeuile and the lorde Cleremound and diverse other noble men, and the duke supped at the kinges borde that night.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy xii. myle from the coste, and there talked of their losses, and because they knewe not who were taken and who wer slain, therefore they sent an heraulde to the kynge to knowe the nomber of the prisoners, the kinges counsayll according to their desyre sente to them the names. The kyng beynge assertayned that the French kinges purpose was yet agayne to geve him battayll, commaunded the best of the prysoners shoulde be conveyed to the toune of Ayre in Flaunders: but when thenglishemen had brought them thyther, the capitayne denyed that thenglishmen shoulde entre the toune wyth prisoners of Fraunce with whome he and his countrey had peace: but yf the Frenche menne woulde desire lodginge for their ease, they shoulde be permitted to entre. But thenglishmen in a fury aunswered, that yf you wyll not suffer us to kepe our prysoners, we wil slay them: then the Frenchmen mekely prayed the capitayne to suffer the Englishemen to entre, and sware to their kepers to bee true prysoners, and so they entered and after were conveyed into England. The Lord Powntremy of the house of Cresquy capytayne generall of Tirwyn perceyved the dyscomfyture of the French partie, and perceyved how the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Lorde Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere the toune that nerer it coulde not be broughte, and that in the walles was suche batterie that it was not lyke to continue, yet he manfully defended the citie, and shote gonnes everye daye as he was accustomed and never was in despayre, tyll the xviii. daye of the sayde monethe he sawe the kynge remove his campe from Gyngate and layed hys campe on the southe syde of the toune betwene their reskewe and the toune: then when he sawe this and consydered that hys succoures were put backe and that the toune was sore febeled, and that the kinges greatest ordinaunce was bent

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againste the toune, he therfore by the advyse of other capitaynes sent to therle of Shrewsburye and the Lorde Harberte a trumpet, desieryng abstinence of warre for a daye, they incontynente sent to the kynge to knowe hys pleasure, the kinge aunswered that he woulde not graunte till he knewe the consideracion: then the captayne sent woorde that with saufeconduyte he woulde come and speake with the kinges counsayll, which to him was graunted, then he sent certayn commissioners whiche offered to delyver the toune wyth all the ordynaunce and munycions withoute anye fraude, so that the townes men that woulde there dwell myght have lyfe and goodes safe, and that the men of warre might departe wyth horse and harneys, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harneys was of litle valure to so great a prince. After that the kyng and his counsayll had debated this matter, it was aunswered the commissioners that althoughe the kynge knewe their penury of vitayle and the dayly mortalitie amonge them and that the towne by reason of greate batteries was not able longe to resiste, yet because they asked mercye he woulde not extende rygor, and graunted there requeste, so that they delyvered the towne wyth all the ordynaunce as they had promysed, to the whyche all they wer sworne, and so returned. And the same nyght therle of Shresbury entred the toune and had the walles and towers and the banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victory, and the lord Powtremy with al the garrison departed with horse and harnes according to the appointment. Then the Lord George Talbot erle of Shrewsbury, with iii. C. men serched the toune for feare of treason, or that any inconvenience might be unto the king and his people: and after that he saw al thing sure, he called al the tounes men together, and sware them, to be true to the king of England. When all this was done, the kynge on the xxiiii. day of August entered into the citie of Tyrwyn, at ix. of the clocke before none with great triumphe and honour, his persone was apparelled in armure gilt and graven, his garment and barde purple velvet full of borders, and in al places traversed with branches in ronnyng worke of fyne golde, the branches were of hawthorne wrought by goldsmithes craft wounde with a braunche of Roses, and every flower, lefe and bury were enbossed: After whome folowed his henxmen

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henxmen with the peces of armure accustomed: thus with great glory this goodly prince entered and toke possession of the towne of Tirwin and was received at the Cathedral church with procession, and they heard masse and dyned in the bishoppes palice, and at after none retorned to his campe, leving in the towne the Earle of Shrewsbury with his retinue. The xxvi. daye of August the kyng removed agayne to Gingate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarckes and towers of Tirwin should be defaced, rased and cast doune: of whiche conclusion the Emperour sainct worde to sainct Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng joyous of that tidinges (for Tyrwyn was for them a scorge) sent thither pioners with all maner of instrumentes, and so they and thenglish pyoners brake doune the walles, gates and towres of the foundacion and filled the dyche and fiered the towne, except the Cathedral church and the palaice, and al the ordinaunce was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to hys use. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should ley his siege to the citie or Towne of Turney, wherfore he set forward thre goodlye battailes, the first was conduited by therle of Shrewsbury, the second battayle led the kyng hymselfe with whome was Themperoure. The rereward was conduyted by the lorde Harbert: and so the first night thei laye in campe beside Ayre, which night vitayle was skant, diverse Englyshmen tarried in Tirwin when the kyng was past for pillage and fyered certayne houses, on whome came sodainly the French stradiates and some they slew and some they caste into the fier, thei that fledde, scaped narrowly.

Tyrwin burned.

Wednesday the xiiii. day of September the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plenty of all thinges, and on the morowe he with his army passed forward and came to a strayt where was a foord and al the carriages must nedes come doune a stepe hill to the foord and so to the streyt, where as one wagon scace alone might passe, and the wether was hoat and the beastes had not droncke all day, wherfore at the foorde the horses woulde drynke maugre ther leders, and so the cariages went not al hole together which was a doubtful case, but yet by wise ordre thei passed the streyt and so did the army and came to a place betwene Cavon and Cambline and there lodged that nighte in a plaine barren grounde, and the next day removed his campe and

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and the forwarde passed a bridge called pount Avandien into Flaunders side and ther lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys syde, and the rereward lay in a fayre grounde behinde the king.

Saterday the xvii. day of September tidings came to the king how the Frenchmen had assembled a great puissaunce and would fight with the king, wherefore the king caused his forward to remove farther and sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage the pount dassaus. Then the greate ordinaunce passed the bridge of pount avandien and the king was removed from thence and his tentes were takinge up, an askrye was made that the enemies were in sight, which noise was sodainly seased, and sir William Sandes with vii. C. Englishmen and strangers was appoincted to kepe the bridge and certayne ordinaunce was to him appoincted.

When the king and al the carriages were passed, then the lord Harbert removed over the bridge and encamped hym behinde the king by a fayre mille, when the kinge was encamped and all thinges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the lord Ravensten which after his humble reverence done, shewed the king that the young prince of castel Charles and the lady Margaret governes of the sayde prince most hartely desired him for his pastime after hys long travayle to come and repose in his toune of Lisle and to see hys brother the prince and the ladies of the court of Burgoyne, saiynge that it became not ladies to visite him in his marciall campe whyche to them was terrible. The king gentelly graunted his request, and then he sent his officers thether to make provision and appoyncted the Duke of Buckyngham the Marques Dorset therle of Essex and the lord Lisle and dyverse other to geve ther attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsayll. Then he mounted on a courser, his apparel and barde were cloth of sylver of smal quadrant cuttes traversed and edged wyth cutt cloth of golde, and the border set full of redde rooses, hys armore freshe and set ful of juels, the Maister of hys horse Sir Henry Guylforde and the Henshmen folowed as you have heard before, and the coursers richly appareled and so were many capitaynes that wayted on the kinge: by the way met the king the lord Ravensten wyth many noble men and a myle without the toune ther mette with him the Bourgesses of Lysle and presented

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presented to him the keies of the toune, sayeng, that Themperour their sovereygne lord had so commaunded them to do. The king praised their obediens to their sovereygne, and thanked themperour and them for so high a presente as the keyes of such a toune. Neverthelesse he had suche confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then hys owne subjectes, and so delyvered the keyes to the provost of the toune, which was wel accompanied: then mette the king a great nomber of nobles of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande and Henawde, which nobly received him. After them came the Countye Palatine or Paulsgrave one of the electors of the empire with xxx. horsses al his men gorgiously appareilled after the fashion of his countrey, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the captayn of the toune stode with a garrison in armure wel appointed, al the stretes were set on both sides with burning torches and diverse goodly pagiantes pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thorow the towne with his swerde and maces borne before hym, and alighted at the hal dore with his swerd borne, where met with him themperour the prince of castel and the lady Margaret and humbly saluted him: then for reverence of themperour, the kinge caused his swerde to be put up and his maces to be leyed doune, then was the kinge and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degrees.

In the toune of Lisle was a noys, that thre gonners with handgonnes should have slayn the king: For which rumor many were attached, but nothinge proved, but when thys tidinges came to the campe, they were never mery til they saw the king agayne, great was the chere with bankettes, playes, commodies, maskes and other pastymes that was shewed to the king in the courte of Burgoyne, and so in solace he sojornied there Sondaye and Mondaye the xix. day of September: the xx. day he sent woorde that his army shoulde remove towarde Tournay, and so they removed to a place convenient betwene Tournay and Lisle and certain capitaynes were appointed to kepe the passage at the bridge of Avandien.

After that the king had taried at Lisle iii. dayes, and had wel reposed himselfe, he toke his leave and thanked the Emperour and the young prince and the lady Margaret and al the ladies of all his high chere and solace and about six of the

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the clock at nyght he departed out of Lisle, and the noble men broughte the kinge forth and so returned, and then the captayne shutt the gates.

When the kyng was a mile and more out of the toun, he asked wher his campe lay? and no man there could tel the way, and guyde had they none, the night was darcke and mistie: thus the king taried a long while and wist not whither to go, at last they mett with a vitayler commyng from the campe which was their guyde and brought them thither. The mayster of the ordinaunce shotte diverse peces of ordynaunce but they were not harde, but in safetie the king with all hys company returned.

The xxi. day of September the kyng removed his campe towarde Tournay and lodged within thre miles of the citie, on a corne grounde by the river. The which night came to the king Themperour and the Paulsgrave whiche were lodged in ryche tentes, and noblye served of all vyandes and thynges necessarye. The people aboute Tournay were with their goodes fledde to the citie, and yet the cytye hadde no men of warre to defende it, but wyth multitude of inhabitauntes the citie was wel replenished: the king commaunded sir Rice and hys horsemen to vewe one quarter, and therle of Essex and hys company another quarter, and the lorde Walowne and the lord Ligny the other quarters: so the xxii. day of September these iiii. capitaines at one time were sone openly with banners displaid before the toune, and there made a longe stale and retorned. The king sent Gartier king of armes and a pursivant of armes with a trompet to somon the citie, which declared that the kinge of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yelde to him his citie and to receive him as their natural lord, or he would put them and their citie to swerde, fyer and blud. To whom they proudely answered, that thei toke no citie of him to kepe, nor none wold they render, with which answer he departed. Then they fortified their walles, and made provision for vitaile, corne, wine and artilerie, and for al fortificacions that might be gotten. And the citie of it selfe was strong, well walled and turrited with good Bulwarkes and defences: But when they saw the kynge with such a puissance draw nere to the citie, they were sore abashed and called a generall counsayl: then the provost sayde, brethren you knowe how that the king of England sent an heraulde to

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to somon us to rendre to hym this citie, or elles he woulde put it and us to the swerde, fyer and bloude, we answered we would be at defence: now he is come in our syght to fulfyll the message sent by hys herauld, and now is come the time of our defence, and in this matter standeth iii. mischiefes, one is our bounden deuty and allegeaunce that we owe to our soveraygne lord king Loys of Fraunce, the second the lifes of us, our wyfes, children and neyghbours, the third how to defend the final destruccion of this auncient cyty whych is likely to fall, whiche citie was never conquired and now our citie is hole (your lyfes in savity, your goodes your own) determine whither you wil have warr or peace: then the common people cryed al war, war, war, then said the provost, take compassion of wyfes and children and of the olde folke, consyder yf you have no quick reskue you can not contynue againste yonder puisance, al tho your corages were as good as Hectors or Achylles, thys the wysest of the citie and I have considered. Then sodaynly was there in the counsayll, a vantparler, a botcher whych heryng this, called a great nomber of his affynite and went out of the counsayl, and so out of the gates and set fier of the suborbes on all sydes. When the counsayl sawe the myndes of the commons and that ther wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and maynteyned them for ther defence. The kyng raysed his campe and came in Array of battayle before Tornay, the Earle of Shresbury with the forward was a littell space on the right hand brest with the kyngs battayle, and the lord Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke manner, the day was faire and the harneis glistered and banners waved that they of the citie were sore afrayed: thus stode the kinges battayles in Array before Tournay. Then the kynge commaunded hys greate ordynaunce to bee caried in the waye passynge towarde the cytie and so every thing according to his commaundement was accomplished. Then the king him selfe with a fewe persones rode betwene hys ordynaunce and the towne, and rode in great adventure so nere the walles that he might vewe the walles and the toures very wel: they shote oute of their toures peces of ordinaunce and hurt such as came within their level. Then they rong the alarme bell, which was harde wel in the felde. Then the citezens issued out at the gate by the river and manfully profered skirmyshe, but

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but they with archers were sone driven backe to theyr gates. The Englishe cariers, that came wyth the harbeshers to take ground ranne to the gates of Tornay, and toke certaine wagons with beere and vitayle and yet the Turnoyes dirst not resiste, although thei wer in greater nomber then the men of cariage. In this skirmish the horsse of the lord Jhon Gray brother to the Marques Dorset which went to defende the Cariours was slayne with a gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in jeopardie aventured him self and vewed the toun, he caused immediatly xxi. peces of gret artilery to be brought in a plain feld before the toune, and when they were charged, they wer immediatly shotte, and the most part of the stones fell within the cytie, and so they shotte diverse shottes one after another.

Then the king with al his battayle planted hys siege on the northe parte of the citie: Therle of Shrewsbury with his battayl warded toward the south syde of the ryver and there lay that nyght. The Lord Harbert with the rereward planted his battail on the west side of the citie, and with great ordynaunce dayly bet the walles and toures of the citie. On the morow beynge the xxiii. day: the Lorde Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury accompanied with the noble men of his battayll whose names you have heard at his first passyng the sea, passed over the river of Tornay and planted his siege on the south syde stretching to the Easte ende of the citie, and bent his artillery against the walles of the citie. Thus was the citie of Tornay besieged on all partes, and ever in hope of reskue valyantly defended her selfe.

Now must I leve the kynge at the siege of Turnay, and diverte to thinges done in Englande in his absence, and declare how the kyng of Scottes invaded the realme of Englande, and how he was defended and fought with al, and in conclusion slayne the vii. day of this moneth of September.

When the king of Englande was determined in his high courte of Parliament to passe the sea, in proper person, for the recovery of his realme of Fraunce, he and hys counsayll forgat not the olde Prankes of the Scottes which is ever to invade England when the kynge is oute, or within age: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in zeland the Scottes dayly shipped long speres called colleyne clowistes, armure

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armure and artilerie, whych dealyng made his grace and his counsail to dowt, notwythstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the sacrament to kepe the peace, yet for voydynge of al dowtes, the kyng appoynted the lord Thomas Haward erle of Surrey sonne to the lord Jhon Haward duke of Norffolke and high treasourer and marshall of Englande, to be hys lieutenaunt in the North parties agaynste the sayed kynge of Scottes, yf he fortuned to inuade (as he dyd in dede) accordynge to the old traytorous accustome of hys progenitors, and that the sayed earle should reise the powers of the contrey of Chester, Lancaster, Duresme, Northumberlande, Westmerlande, and Comberlande, besyde other aydes to be poyncted by the quene. And when the kynge shoulde take shippe at Dover, he toke the Earle by the hande and sayde, my Lorde I truste not the Scottes, therfore I praye you be not negligent: then sayde the earle I shall so do my duety, that youre grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfyll your will shalbe my gladnes: The Earle coulde skantly speake when he toke hys leave, for the departinge from the noble prynce hys sovereigne Lorde and kynge, and from the floure of all the nobilitye of thys realme, beynge redy in suche an honorable jorney. And when he was somewhat settelled in hys mode, he sayde to some that were about hym: Sory may I se hym or I dye, that is cause of my abydinge behynde, and yf ever he and I mete, I shal do that in me lyeth to make hym as sory yf I can: meanynge the same by the kyng of Scottes. From Dover he attendid on the quene to London, comfortynge her the beste he myght, and shortely sent for hys gentelmen and tenauntes, whiche were v. C. able men, whiche mustered before syr Thomas lovell, knyght, the xxi. daye of July, and the xxii. daye he rode thorough London Northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commaunded syr William bulmer knight, to make haste to the marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the castels and fortresses on the frontiers with ii. C. archers on horsebacke: for the Earle by open tokens dayly perceived that the Scottes entended warre. Then the sayde Sir William with all spede departed and came to the borders and the erle came to Pomfret, the firste daye of August, and there taried. After that Syr Wylliam bulmer was come to the borders,

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borders, one daye in Auguste, the Lorde Chamberlayne and warden of Scotlande wyth vii. or viii. M. men wyth banner displayed entered into Englande, and brent and haryed a great praye in Northumberlande, that heringe syr William bulmer, called to hym the gentelmen of the borders wyth hys archers, and all they were not a thousande men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought them selfes in to a brome felde, called Mylfeld, where the Scottes shoulde passe. And as the Scottes proudely returned wyth their pray, the Englishemen brake oute, and the Scottes on fote lyke men them defended, but the archers shotte so holy together, that they made the Scottes geve place, and v. or vi. hundred of them were slayne, and iiii. hundred and more taken prisoners, and the pray reskued beside a great number of geldynges that were taken in the countrey, and the lord Hume, lord Chamberlayne fled, and his banner taken. This was the fyrst open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, whiche call thys journey the yll Roade.

The Earle of Surrey, beynge at Pompfret, called to hym the most parte of the Gentelmen of the Counties to hym apoynted as is before rehersed, declaringe to them the Kynges hygh commaundement, shewynge them, that he beynge there the Kynges Lieutenaunt muste nedes have ayde and counsayll: Wherefore he sware the mooste wysest and experte gentelmen in suche causes of the kynges counsayll and hys for that tyme, for the better compassynge hys charge and purpose, and for too brynge every thynge in dewe order: Fyrst they toke a determinacion wyth Syr Philippe Tylney knight, Treasurer of the warres, howe the charges shoulde be payde, and secondarely wyth syr Nycholas applyarde, master of the ordinaunce, for the conveyaunce of the Kynges Royall ordinaunce, pouder and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case shoulde requyer, whyche Syr Nycholas by William Blacknall, clercke of the Kynges spyceri, sent the sayde ordinaunce and artyllerye to Durham before, so that all thynges, concerning that office were in a redynes. The Earle forgatt not to sende to all Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, Knyghtes, Gentelmenne, or other whiche had tenauntes, or were rulers of Tounes or liberties (able to make men) to certifye what number of able men horsed and

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and harnesed, they were able to make within an houres warnynge and to geve there attendaunce on hym, and also he layed Postes every waye, whyche Postes stretched to the marches of Wales to the counsayll there, by reason whereof, he had knowlege what was done in everye coste.

The earle was enformed by the Lorde Dacres, of the numbrynge and preparyng of men in Scotlande, and Proclamacions soundynge to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Roade made by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande into England, beynge distrussed by Syr William Bulmer, as is afore rehersed, was an open breche of the perpetuall pece: yet the sayde Lorde Dacres avysed the Earle for many and greate weyghty causes, not to reyse or styrre the powers of the countrey, to hym appoynted tyll he mighte perceyve and openly know the subtyle purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesaid, lest yf the Scottes had perceyved the Englishemen redy to fight, they woulde have desisted of theyr purpose for that tyme, tyll the Englishemen were returned to their countreys, and then sodaynely to ryse agayne.

Then the Erle knowynge that the towne of Barwyck was strong ynough, sent to the Capitayne of Norham, certefienge hym, that yf he thought the Castell in anye daungier or debylitie, he woulde put hym selfe in a readynes to reskew it, if it were beseged, the Capitayn wrote to the Earle, thankynge hym and prayed GOD that the Kynge of Scottes woulde come wyth hys puyssaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the tyme that the Kynge of Englande came out of Fraunce to reskew it, whyche aunswer rejoysed the Earle muche.

After the Kyng of Scottes had sent hys defyaunce to the kynge of Englande, lyenge before Tyrwyn, as you have harde, he dayly made hys musters, and assembled hys people over all hys Realme, whereof the brute was that they were twoo hundred thousand, but for a surety they were an hundred thousand good fightynge men at the lest, and with all hys hoste and power entered into Englande (and threw doune pyles) the xxii. daye of August, and planted hys siege before the Castell of Norham, and sore abated the walles. The Earle hard tydynges thereof

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thereof the fyve and twenty day of August, beynge saynct Barthelmewesdaye.

Then he wrote to all the Gentelmen of the shyres aforesayde, to be wyth hym at Newcastell, the fyrste daye of September next wyth all there retynew accordynge to the certificat. On the morow, he wyth hys fyve hundred menne came to Yorke, and the xxvi. daye he went toward Newcastell, and not wythstandynge that he had the fowleste daye and nyght that coulde be, and the wayes so depe, in so muche that hys guyde was almoste drouned before hym, yet he never ceased, but kept on hys jorney to geve example to them that shoulde folowe. He beynge at Durham was advertised how the Kynge of Scottes wyth hys greate ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great Assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitaynes valiauntly defended hym, but he spent vaynely so muche of hys ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes and other municions that at the laste he lacked, and so was at the vi. daye compelled to yelde hym symplye to the Kynges mercye. Thys castell was thought impregenable, yf it had bene well furnished, but the Scottes by the undiscrete spendynge of the Capitayne, toke it in sixe dayes: thys chaunce was more sorowful to the Earle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewe coragiously, wherfore the earle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perishe that nyght on the sea, who promised to lande at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompaynie his father, whych promyse he accomplished.

S. Cutberds banner.

The Earle harde Masse, and appoynted wyth the Prior for saincte Cutberdes banner, and so that daye beynge the thyrty daye of August he came to Newcastell: thither came the Lorde Dacres, Syr William Bulmer, Syr Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall Gentelmen, whome he reteyned wyth hym as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye nexte ensuynge, he shoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldiours were repayrynge to hym, he lefte Newcastell to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde have there more rome, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde daye of September, and because hys souldiars were not come, by reason of the foule waye he was fayne to tarye there all

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all the fourthe daye beynge Sundaye, whiche daye came to hym the Lorde Admyrall his sonne, with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able souldiars and maryners, whiche all came from the sea, the commynge of hym muche rejoyced his father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of greate credence and experience. Then the Erle and his counsayll, wyth great deliberacion appoynted his battayles in order with wynges and with ryders necessarie.

¶ Fyrste of the forwarde was capitayne the Lorde Hawarde, Admyrall of Englande, with suche as came from the sea, and wyth hym syr Nycholas Applyarde, syr Stephan Bull, syr Henry Shyreburne, syr Wylliam Sydney, syr Edwarde Echyngham, the Lorde Clyfford, the lorde Conyers, the lorde Latymer, the Lorde Scrope of Upsale, the lorde Egle, the lorde Lomley, syr William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprycke of Durham, syr Wylliam Gascoyne, syr Christopher Warde, syr Jhon Everyngham, syr Thomas Metham, Syr Water Gryffith, and many other.

¶ Of the wynge on the righte hande of the forwarde, was Capitayne syr Edmonde Hawarde knyght, Marshall of the hoste, and with hym Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Jhon Laurence, Rycharde Bolde Esquyers, and syr Jhon Bothe, Syr Thomas Butler Knyghtes, Rycharde Donne, Jhon Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Jhon Claruys, Bryan Stapulton, Robert warcoppe, Rychard Cholmeley, wyth the men of Hull, and the Kynges tenauntes of Hatfelde and other.

¶ Of the wyng of the left hande, was Capitayne syr Marmaduke Constable wyth hys sonnes and kynnesmen, syr William Percy, and of Lancashere, a thousand men.

¶ Of the rerewarde was Capitayne the Earle of Surrey hym selfe, and wyth hym the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, Syr Philippe Tylney, syr George Darce, syr Thomas Barkebey, syr Jhon Rocliffe, syr Christopher Pykerynge, Rycharde Tempest, syr Jhon Stanley wyth the Bysshoppe of Elyes servauntes, Syr Bryan Stapulton, Lyonell Percy, wyth the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Christopher Clapham, syr William Gascoing the younger, syr Guy Dawney, Maister Magnus, Mayster Dalbyes servauntes, syr Jhon Normavyle, the citizens of Yorke, syr Nynyan Markanvyle, syr Jhon Wylloghby wyth other.

¶ Of the wyng on the right hande was capitayne the lord Dacres with his power.

On

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¶ On the lefte hande wynge was syr Edwarde Stanley knyght, with the residue of the power of the countye Palantyne and of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do, the earle and hys counsayll concluded and determined emonge other thynges to sende Rouge Crosse, pursivaunt of armes with a trompet to the kynge of Scottes, wyth certayne instruccions, signed by the sayd erle, conteynynge woorde by woorde as foloweth.

Fyrste where there hath bene suyte made to the kynge of Scottes by Elyzabeth Heron, wyfe to Wylliam Heron of Forde, now prysoner in Scotlande, for castynge doune of the house or Castell of Forde, and as the sayde Elizabeth reporteth uppon communicacion had, the sayde kynge hath promysed and condiscended to the sayde Elizabeth, that yf she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde brynge and deliver unto hym the Lorde Johnstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prysonerrs that time in England, he then is contented an agreed that the sayde house or Castell shall stande wythout castynge doune, brennynge or spoylynge the same : Whereunto the sayde Earle is content with that, uppon this condicion, that yf the sayde kynge wyll promytte the assuraunce of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde under hys seale, to deliver the sayde Lorde of Jhonstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately uppon the same assuraunce. And in case the sayde kynge can and wyll be content to delyver the sayd Heron out of Scotlande, then the sayde Earle shal cause to be delivered to the sayde kynge the two gentelmen and two other, syr George Hume and William Carre.

Farther the sayde Earle woll that you Rouge Crosse, shewe the sayde kyng, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and unnaturally agaynste all reason and conscience, hathe entred and invaded this hys brothers realme of Englande, and done great hurte to the same, in castynge doune Castelles, Towres, and houses, brenninge, spoylynge and destroiynge of the same, and cruelly murderynge the Kynge of Englande hys brothers subjectes. Wherefore the sayde Earle wyll be readye to trye the rightfulnes of the matter wyth the Kynge in battaill by Frydaye next commynge at the farthest, yf he of hys noble courage wyll geve hym tarienge, and abode, within this the Kynges Realme so longe

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longe tyme: And the same the sayde Earle promiseth, as he is true knyghte to God and the Kynge of England hys Mayster. And before Rouge Crosse shoulde departe wyth the sayde instruccions, the sayde Lorde Admyrall gave hym in credence too shewe the sayde Kynge of hys commynge, and parte of his compaignye on the sea wyth hym: and that he hadde foughte the Scottyshe Navye, then beynge on the sea, but he coulde not mete with theym, because they were fledde into Fraunce, by the coste of Irelande.

And in asmuche as the sayde Kynge hadde diverse and many tymes caused the sayde Lorde, too be called at dayes of true, to make redresse for Andrew Barton, a Pirate of the sea, longe before that vanquyshed by the same Lorde Admyrall, he was nowe come in hys awne proper persone too be in the Vauntgarde of the felde to Justifye the deathe of the sayde Andrewe, agaynste hym and all hys people, and woulde se what coulde be layed to hys charge the sayde daye, and that he nor none of hys compaignye shoulde take no Scottshe noble man prysoner, nor any other, but they shoulde dye yf they came in hys daunger, oneles it were the kynges awne persone, for he sayde he trusted to none other curtesye at the handes of the Scottes.

And in thys maner he shoulde fynde hym in the Vauntgarde of the felde by the grace of GOD and sayncte George as he was a trew Knyghte. Yet before the departynge of Rouge Crosse wyth the sayd instruccions and credence, it was thoughte by the Earle and hys counsayll, that the sayde kynge woulde fayne and Imagen some other message, too sende an Heraulde of hys wyth the same, onely to View, and over se the maner and order of the Kynges royall armye, ordinaunce, and artillerie, then beynge wyth the Earle, wherby myghte have ensued greate daungier to the same, and for exchuynge thereof, he hadde in commaundemente, that yf any such message were sente, not to bryng any person, commynge therewith, within three or two myle of the felde at the nyghest, where the sayde Earle woulde come, and heare what he would saye: And thus departed Rouge Crosse wyth hys trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes.

On Mondaye the fyfte daye of September, the Earle tooke hys felde at Bolton in Glendall as he had appoyncted, where all the noble men and Gentelmen met wyth their retynewes

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retynewes too the number of six and twenty thousande men, and aboute mydnighte nexte ensuyng, came the trompette, whyche went wyth Rouge Crosse, and declared howe the Kynge of Scottes, after the message done to hym by Rouge Crosse accordynge too hys instruccions, the sayde Kynge detayned hym, and sent one Ilay a Harauld of hys wyth hym unto the Earle, to declare too hym the sayde Kynges pleasure, too whome the Earle sente Yorke Heraulde at armes, to accompaignye the sayde Ilay, at a Village called Mylo, twoo myles from the felde, untyll the commyng thether of the sayde Earle the next morow.

The sixte daye of September, early in the mornynge, the Earle accompaignied with the mooste parte of the Lordes, Knyghtes and Gentelmen of the felde, every man havynge with hym but one man to holde hys horsse, and so the sayde Heraulde met wyth the Earle, and with blunt reverence declared to him that he was come from hys Master the Kyng of Scottes, whyche woulde knowe, whyther the Earle sente anye suche message by Rouge Crosse, the Earle justified the same, saiynge farther, that Rouge Crosse hadde the same message of hym in writynge signed wyth hys awne hande, whereunto the sayde Ilay sayde, as touchynge the savynge from brennynge or destroiynge, and castynge doune of the Castell of Forde, for the deliveraunce of the sayd prisoners. The Kynge his Mayster woulde therto make no aunswer. But as too the abydynge for battayll betwene that and Frydaye, then nexte folowynge, the Kyng his Master badde hym shewe to the Earle, that he was as welcome as any noble manne of England unto the same kynge, and that yf he had bene at home in his Towne of Edenborough, there receyvyng suche a message from the sayd Erle, he woulde gladlye have come and fulfylled the sayde Earles desyre: and the Heraulde assured the Earle on the Kynge his Maisters behalfe, that the same kynge woulde abyde hym battayll at the daye prefixed, whereof the sayde Earle was righte joyous and muche praysed the honourable agrement of the sayde Royall Kynge and estemed the same to procede of an hygh and noble courage, promysynge the Heraulde that he and good suerty wyth hym shoulde be bounde in ten thousande pounde sterlynge, too kepe the sayde daye appoynted, so that the kyng woulde fynde an earle of his, and thereto a good suerty with him to

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to be bounde in lyke summe, for the performans of the same: And farthermore the Earle bad the Heraulde for to saye to his maister, that yf he for his parte kept not hys appoyntmente, then he was content, that the Scottes shoulde Baffull hym, which is a great reproche amonge the Scottes, and is used when a man is openly perjured, and then they make of hym an Image paynted reversed, with hys heles upwarde, with hys name, wonderynge, cryenge and blowinge out of hym with hornes, in the moost dispitefull maner they can. In token that he is worthy to be exiled the compaignie of all good Creatures.

Then Ilay delivered too the Earle a littell Cedule, wrytten with the kynges Secretaries hande unsigned, the tenor wherof foloweth.

¶ 'As to the causes alleged of oure commynge into Eng-
'lande agayne oure bande and promyse (as is alleged) there-
'to we aunswere, ower brother was bounde also farre to us as
'we to hym. And when we sware laste before hys Ambassade,
'in presence of oure counsayll, we expressed specially in oure
'othe, that we woulde kepe to oure brother, yf oure brother
'kepte to us, and nat elles, we sweare oure brother brake
'fyrste to us, and sythe hys breke, we have requyred dyverse
'tymes hym too amend, and lately we warned oure brother as
'he dyd not us or he brake, and thys we take for oure quarell,
'and with Goddes grace shall defende the same at youre
'affixed tyme, whyche with Goddes grace we shall abyde.'

And for asmuche as the sayde Kynge kepte styll Rouge Crosse wyth hym, who was not yet returned, the same Earle caused the sayde Ilay too be in the kepynge of Syr Humfrey Lysle and Yorke Heraulde, in the same Vyllage, untyll the tyme that a servaunte of the sayde Ilay myghte ryde in all haste too the Royall Kynge of Scottes, for the deliveryng of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the erle Joyous of the kynges aunswer, returned to hys campe, and set forward fyve myle, too a place called Woller Hawgh, in suche order of battayll, as even then he should have fought, and there lodged for that nighte, three littell myles from the kynge of Scottes, and betwene the kynge and hym was a goodly and large corne felde, called Mylfelde whyche was a convenient and fayre grounde for twoo hostes to fight on, there every hoste myghte perceyve other.

The morowe beynge Wednesdaye, the vii. daye of that moneth,

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moneth, the Kynge of Scottes caused hys greate ordinaunce too be shotte at the Englishe armye, but it hurte neither man nor beaste. When the kynge of Scottes sawe that Ilay was deteyned, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the Erle, by whome, and other of the borders he was advertised that the kynge laye uppon the syde of a hyghe mountayne, called Floddon on the edge of Chevyot, where was but one narowe felde for any manne to ascende up the sayde hyll to hym, and at the foote of the hyll laye all hys ordinaunce. On the one syde of hys armye was a greate Marrishe, and compassed wyth the hylles of Chevyot, so that he laye to stronge too be approched of any syde : excepte the Englishemen woulde have temerariouslye ronne on hys ordinaunce, whiche matter well considered by the Earle and hys sonne, and other of the counsayll there, they called too theim Rouge Crosse, and sent hym the nexte daye to the Kynge of Scottes, willinge hym too shewe the kynge, that the sayde Earle, with dyverse of the Kynges nobles and subjectes hadde avaunced them selfes too geve battayll to hys grace, trustynge that accordinge too his promise, he woulde avaunce hym selfe and hys armye to joyne the battayll, whyche as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desyred the kynge that he myghte have knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage would discende the hyll, where he laye and too geve battayll or not : and yf he saye that I shal not knowe his entent, or wyll saye, that he will kepe the ground : then shewe hym that he perceyveth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for twoo armyes too fighte, and therefor I will looke for no mo of his delayes. The same daye beynge oure Ladye day the Nativite Rouge Crosse departed to the Kynge of Scottes, whyche woulde not heare hym speke, but sente one of hys servitours to heare his message : Whiche servitour after he hadde disclosed the same to the kynge, made aunswer, that it besemed not an Earle, after that maner to handle a kynge, and that he woulde use no forcery, nor had no truste of any grounde :

You have harde before, howe Ilay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makynge good chere, and was not returned that mornynge that Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys Trompet were detayned

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detayned by the servante of Ilay, whyche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, assurynge them that yf Ilaye came not home before none, that he was not livynge, and then they shoulde have their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Crosse offered that hys servaunte shoulde goe for Ilay, but it woulde not be excepted, but as happe was, Ilay came home before none, and shewed of hys gentell enterteynynge, and then Rouge Crosse was delivered, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you have hearde.

Then the Englishemen removed their felde on the water of Tyll, and so forthe over many hylles and streytes, marchynge towarde the Scottes on another syde, and in their sight the Scottes burned certayne poore Vyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.

The Englishemen, alwayes leavynge the Scottishe armye on the left hande, toke their felde under a wood syde, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two armyes was the Ryver of Tyll, and there was a littell hyll that saved the Englishemen from the gonne shotte, on which hyll the lorde Admyrall perfightly saw and discovered them all.

In the evenynge of the same daye it was concluded betwene the Earle and hys counsayll, and moste parte of the armye thereto agreed, that the Vauntgarde with the ordinaunce shoulde passe over agayne the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the. ix. daye of September, and the rerewarde to passe over at Mylforde, puttynge theymselfes as nye as they coulde betwene the Scottes and Scotlande, and so to geve battayll to the Scottes on the hyll, called Floddon hyll. Frydaye the sayde nynth daye, the Lorde Admyrall, lyke a valiaunte Knyghte, passed over Twysell brydge wyth the Vantgarde, marchynge towarde hys enemyes, lyke diligence was made by the Earle for passynge over at Mylfforde wyth the rerewarde, saiynge to hys Capytaines, now good fellowes, do lyke Englishemen this daye, take my parte lyke men, whyche parte is the Kynges parte, and I wyste you woulde not, I wyll in my awne person fighte with the Kynge of Scottes, rather to dye honourablye by his crueltye, then to lyve in shame, or that any reproche shoulde be layed to me hereafter.

To whome they aunswered, that they woulde serve the Kynge and him truely that daye. The Englishe armye that

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that daye hadde no vitayle and were fastynge, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and coulde scace get anye other sustenaunce for money, and yet they kept array on horsebacke from fyve of the clocke in the mornynge tyll foure of the clocke at after none, and were alwayes in the sighte of the Scottes.

The Kynge of Scottes perceyvinge the Englishemen, marchinge towarde Scotlande, thought that they woulde have entered into Scotlande, and burne and forray the plentifull countray, called the Marche, for so was he made beleve by an Englisheman named Gyles Musgrave whyche was familiar wyth the Kyng of Scottes, and dyd it for a pollecie to cause hym to come doune from the hyll: Wherefore the sayde Kynge caused hys tentes to be removed to an other hyll in grate haste, least the Englishemen shoulde have taken the same hyll: And at theyr departynge they sette fyer on theyr litter and other fylthye ordure, accordynge to theyr custome, and of the fyer and smolder dyd ryse suche a smooke so thicke and so darke, that the one host coulde not perceyve the other, for the wynde dyd dryve the smoke betwene the twoo armyes, the Scottes ever kepynge the heyght of the hyll on the edge of the chevyot, and the Englishemen passed forward styll in the lowe grounde, and ever in the covert of the smoke, in so muche that bothe the hostes were very nere together, within the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them coulde perceyve another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishemen had passed a lyttell brooke, called Sandyfforde, whyche is but a mans step over, and that the smoke was passed, and the Ayre fayre and cleare, eche army myghte playnly see one an other at hande. Then the Lorde Admyrall perceyved foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote wyth longe speres lyke moorishe pykes: whyche Scottes furnished them warlike, and bent theim to the forwarde, whyche was conducted by the Lorde Admirall, whyche perceyvynge that, sent to hys Father the Earle of Surrey hys *Agnus dei* that honge at hys breste that in all hast he would joyne battayll, even wyth the bront or breste of the vantgarde: for the forward alone was not able to encountre the whole battayll of the Scottes, the Earle perceyvynge well the saiynge of hys sonne, and seynge the Scottes ready to discende the hyll avaunsed hym selfe and hys people forwarde, and brought theym

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theym egall in grounde wyth the forwarde on the left hande, even at the bront or breste of the same at the foote of the hyll called Bramston, the Englishe army stretched East and West, and their backes Northe, and the Scottes in the Southe before theim on the forsayde hyll called Bramston.

Then oute brast the ordinaunce on bothe sydes wyth fyre flamme and hydeous noyse, and the Master gonner of the Englishe parte slew the Master gonner of Scotlande, and bet all hys men from their ordinaunce, so that the Scottishe ordynaunce dyd no harme too the Englishemen, but the Englishemens Artyllerie shotte into the myddes of the Kynges battayll, and slewe many persones, which seynge the kyng of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more haste too come too joynynge, and so all the foure battayles in maner discended the hyll at once. And after that the shotte was done, whiche they defended wyth Pavishes, thei came to handestrokes, and were encontred severally as you shall here.

i. Fyrste on the Englyshe syde next the West, was Syr Edmonde Hawarde knyghte, Marshall of the hoste chief Capitayne of a wynge on the ryghte hande of oure vantgarde, and was encountryd wyth the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth hys battayle of sperys on foote, to the number of ten thousande at the leaste, whiche foughte valiauntly, so that they by force caused the litle wynge to flye, and the same Syr Edmonde thre tymes felled to the grounde, and left alone, savynge his standarde berar, and twoo of hys servauntes, to whome came Jhon Heron bastarde sore hurte, saiynge there was never noble mans sone so lyke too be loste as you be thys daye, for all my hurtes I shall here lyve ande dye wyth you, and there the sayde Syr Edmonde Hawarde was in a great daunger and jeopardy of hys lyfe, and hardelye escaped, and yet as he was goynge to the bodye of the Vantgarde he met with Davy Home, and slew hym with hys awne hande, and so came to the Vantgard.

ii. Secondely, Eastwarde from the sayde battayle was the Lorde Admyrall wyth the Vantgarde, wyth whome encountred the Earles of Crafforde and Montroos, accompaygned, wyth many Lordes, Knyghtes, and Gentelmen, all wyth sperys on foote, but the Lorde Admyrall and hys compaignie acquyted themselfes so well, and that with pure fightyng, that thei brought to grounde a great number, and both the Earles slayne.

Thirdely,

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Thirdely, Eastwarde from the Lorde Admyrall was the Earle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standarde the kynge of Scottes in hys awne person marched, beynge accompaygned wyth many Bishoppes, Earles, Barons, Knyghtes and Gentelmen of the Realme with a great number of commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, whiche were the most assuredlyest harnesed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodlyest personages with all, and they abode the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it dyd them no hurt. After the shotte endyd, the battayll was cruell, none spared other, and the kynge hym self foughte valiauntly. O what a noble and triumphant courage was thys for a kynge to fyghte in a battayl as a meane souldier: But what avayled hys stronge harnes, the puyssaunce of hys myghtye champions wyth whome he descended the hyll, in whome he so muche trusted that wyth hys stronge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to have vanquished that day the greatest Prynce of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or els he thought to do such an hygh enterprice hym selfe in his person, that shoulde surmount the enterprises of all other princes: but how soever it happened God gave the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for al went one waye. So that of his owne battaill none escaped, but syr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and Syr Jhon forman knight, his serjaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, and wyth great difficultie saved. This may be a great myrror to al prynces, how that they adventer them selfes in such a battaill.

Forthly, Eastwarde was Syr Edwarde Stanley knight, capitayn of the left wynge wyth the sayde earle, whyche clame up to the toppe of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wyste, and wyth hym encontred the earles of Huntley, Lennoux and Argile, with a great number of Scottes whyche were sore fought wyth all, whyche perceyving the earle of Huntley toke a horse and saved hym selfe, yf he had taryed he had bene lykely to have gone wyth hys compaignie: suche as fled, the sayde Syr Edwarde and his people folowed them over the same grounde, where the Earles battell firste joyned, and founde ther the Scottes, whyche were by the Earles battaill slayne before, and sodainly left

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left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the kynge of Scottes, and many that were slayne in his battaill, but they knew him not, and founde a Crosse and certayn thynges of hys, by reason wherof some saide that he was slayne by that wyng, whyche coulde not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the kynges battayll fought onely with the Earles battels, but for a truthe this wynge dyd very valiauntly: wherfore it was thought that the sayd syr Edwarde myght that daye not have bene missed.

All these iiii. battels, in maner fought at one tyme, and were determined in effect, littell in distance of the beginnyng and endynge of any of them one before the other, savyng that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came up to the toppe of the hyll, and there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chaced them doune the hyll over that place, where the kynges battaill joyned. Besyde these iiii. battayles of the Scottes were twoo other battayls, whyche never came to hande strokes.

Thus through the power of God on Fridaye, beyng the ix. daye of September, in the yere of our Lorde M. D. xiii. was James the IIII. Kyng of Scottes slayn at Bramstone (chiefly by the power of the earle of Surrey, lieutenaunt for kynge Henry the VIII. kynge of Englande, whyche then lay at the sege before Tornay) and wyth the sayde kynge were slayne.

The Archebishop of saynct Androwes, the Kynges bastard sonne.
The bishop of the Iles.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.

Erles.

The erle Mountroos.
The erle of Crafford.
The erle of Arguyle.
The erle of Lennoux.
The erle of Glencarre.
The erle of Katnes.
The erle of Castelles.
The erle of Bothwell.
The erle Arrell Constable of Scotlande.
The erle Addill.
The erle Athell.
The erle Morton.

Lordes.

The lord Lovet.
The lord Forbos.
The lord Lord Elveston.
The lord Roos.
The lord Inderby.
The lord Sentclere.
The lord Maxwell, and hys iiii. brethren.
The lord Daunley.

The

The lord Seympill.
The lord Borthyck.
The lord Bogony.
The lord Arskyll.
The lord Blakkater.
The lord Cowyn.

Knyghtes and gentlemen.

Sir Jhon Dowglasse.
Cutbert Home lord of Fastcastel.
Sir Alexander Seton.
Sir Davy Home.
Mayster Jhon Graunt.
Sir Dunkin Caufelde.
Sir Saunder Lowder.
Sir George Lowder.
Mayster Marshall.
Mayster Keye.
Mayster Ellot.
Mayster Cawel Clerck of the chauncery.
The Deane of Ellester.
Mack, Kene.
Mack, Clene, and manye other gentlemen, whiche be unknowen, because no officer of armes of Scotlande woulde come to make serche for them, and yf the daye had bene lenger by thre houres (for it was foure of the clocke at after none, or the battayles joyned) or that the Englashemen had had vitayles, so that they myght have bydden styll together, they had not alonelye made the greatest dystresse of Scottes by death, and takynge, that the lyke hath not bene sene in one daye: but also wythin a litle while might have put the Realme of Scotlande in suche a misery and trouble, that for ever they shoulde have bene ware how to enter the Realme of Englande, and specially the kynge, beynge absente: for the Englyshemen wanted no good wyll, for of the Scottes they slewe twelfe thousande at the leaste of the beste Gentlemen and flower of Scotlande, and of the Englysh syde were slayne and taken not xv. C. men, as it appered by the boke of wages when the souldiours were payed. Thus the erle of Surrey accomplyshed the promyse at hys daye prefyxed wyth the kinge of Scottes to hys great fame and honour.

After that the felde was foughte and the Scottes fled many Englyshemen folowed them into Scotlande, and were so farre that they wiste not whiche waye to returne and so were taken prysoners of the Scottes that were in the ii. battailes that fled first and never fought. Also dyverse were taken by the Lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande, whiche fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried wyth hym to the nomber of syxtye. Of the Scottes that

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that fledde, some passed over the water of Twede at Caudestreme Foorde, and other by the drye Marches, durynge the tyme of the fyghte, and the nyghte after manye menne loste their horsses and suche stoffe as they lefte in their tentes and pavilions by the robbars of Tindale and Tividale.

The Lorde Dacre wyth hys company stode styl all daye unfoughten with all. When the felde was done and the skoute watche broughte woorde, that there was no more apperaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned, the Earle thanked God wyth humble harte, and called to hym certaine Lordes and other gentlemen and them made knightes, as Sir Edmonde Haward his sonne and the Lorde Scrope, Sir William Percy and manye other. Then the Earle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wodde and appoincted Sir Philippe Tylney knighte with the compaignye of the Lorde Admirall and the compaignie of the Lorde Scrope of bolton, the Lorde Latymer, olde Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and their compaignies, and a fewe other to kepe the place where the felde was for savynge of the Englyshe ordinaunce, and the ordynaunce that was taken from the Scottes, whiche was fyve great Curtalles, twoo great Culverynges, foure Sacres, and syxe Serpentynes as fayre ordinaunce as hathe bene beside other small peces. Wel knowen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that their kynge was taken or slayne, but hys bodye was not founde tyll the nexte daye, because al the meane people aswell Scottes as Englysh were strypped out of their apparell as they laye at the felde, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lorde Dacres, who knewe hym well by hys pryvye tookens in that same place, where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, fyrste joyned together.

Thys kynge had diverse deadelye woundes, and in especyall one wyth an Arowe, and another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the kinge of Scottes was fownde and broughte too Barwicke, the Earle shewed it too Sir William Scot hys Chaunceller, and Sir Jhon Forman hys serjante porter, whyche knewe hym at the fyrste syghte, and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, enbawmed, and cered, and secretelye amongest other stuffe conveyed to Newcastell, but the same daye the Lorde Admirall came to the felde and

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and there some Scottes apered on an hyll: but William Blackenall whyche was the chyeffe doar and ruler of all the ordynaunce shott suche a peale, that the Scottes fledde, or elles the Lorde Admirall had bene in greate jeopardye: and then all the ordinaunce was broughte in savetye to the Castell of Citel and there remayned for a tyme. After thys noble vyctorye the Earle wrote fyrste to the Quene whyche had raysed a great power to resiste the sayde kinge of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battaylle, for then the bodie of the kynge of Scottes was not fownde, and she yet beynge at the towne of Buckingham had woorde the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was slayne and a parte of hys coate armure to her sente, for whiche vyctorye she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the Northe parte was sett in a quyetnes, returned to the Quene wyth the deade bodye of the Scottyshe king and brought it to Richemonde.

Nowe lette us returne too the kynge of Englande lyenge before Tournay, whyche the xxv. daye of September receyved the gauntelett and letters of the Earle of Surrey, and knewe all the dealynge of bothe parties. Then he thanked GOD and hyghlye praysed the Earle and the Lorde Admirall and his sonne, and al the gentlemenne and commons that were at that valiaunte enterprice: Howe beit, the kynge had a secrete letter that the Cheshire men fledde from Sir Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter caused greate harte burning and manye woordes, but the kyng thankefully accepted al thynge, and would no man to be dispraysed. So, on the Mondaye at nyght the xxvi. daye of September, the Lorde Harbart and the Earle of Shrewsbury made greate fyers in their armies in tooken of vyctory and triumphe: and on Teusdaye the xxvii. daye the tente of cloth of gold was set up: and the kynges Chapell sange masse, and after that *Te Deum*, and then the Byshoppe of Rochester made a Sermonde and shewed the deathe of the kynge of Scottes, and muche lamented the yll deathe and perjury of him.

The kynge of Englande lyenge thus before Tournay, caused hys greate ordinaunce to be planted rounde aboute the Cytye, and diverse trenches were caste and rampiers made and the Lorde Lisle, and the Lorde Wyloughby were appoyncted to maynteyne the ordinaunce, wyth their bendes, and the Earle of Kente was lodged before the gate called port

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port Valencien, so that the Cytezens coulde not yssue oute, nor no ayde coulde come in. The ordynaunce dayly bet the gates, towers and walles, whyche made a greate batterye: and a fewe Englyshemen assaulted the port Coquerell, but they were to fewe in nomber, and yf they had bene more in nomber, they had taken the toune as the Tournosyns confessed after. The Citezens of Tournay consyderynge their estate, came together to counsayll, and there the Provoste sayde, frendes and brethren of thys noble Citie, I cannot to muche prayse youre trueth and fidelitie to youre Sovereygne Lorde the Kyng of Fraunce, consyderynge how manfully you have defended this citie sythe the begynnynge of thys siege, but alas allthoughe it be wryten on the gates graven in stone *Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage*, that is to saye, thou hast never loste thy maydenhed: yet yf this citye hadde not bene well furnyshed, and ever at the daye appoyncted sure of reskewe, it coulde not have continued: nowe you se that reskewe fayleth, our gates be rased, our towres betyn downe, our chiefe tower lyke to fall, so that yf thys perilous siege continue, or elles yf our enemies assaute us, we be not able to defende us: wherefore nowe, all these thynges consydered, I woulde knowe whyther you wyll treate wyth the kynge of Englande or abide the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsayll cried war, warre, now cryed peace peace, yet al were not agreed: then one wyseman saide: Sirs yf the towne bee assawted once agayne with a greate nomber suerlye it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the laste assaute, and then consyder yf it bee taken by force, who is there that can saye, he is sure of his life: But by entretie, the kinge of Englande is so merciful, that we maye fortune to save bothe lyfe and goodes. Then finally al agreed to treate. Then the Provost sent to the kinge a trompet desirynge a saufeconduyte for hym, and certayne other to come and to speake with hym, whyche requeste was to hym graunted. Then the Provost of the citie accompanied with eleven wyth hym of the beste of the citie came to the armye and spake with the lordes of the counsayll and after were broughte to the kynges presence, the Provoste kneled doune and all hys compaginy and sayde: Ryght hyghe and myghtye Prynce, althoughe the Citie of Tournay is stronge, well walled, well replenished with people, vitayles, artilerye, yea and the people in feare and dreade of nothinge, yet we knowe

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knowe that againste youre great puissaunce yt cannot continue long, although it were ten times as stronge as it is, wherefore we knowynge by reporte, youre honoure, your wysedome, youre justice, and noble harte, are contente to become youre subjectes and vassalles, so that we maye have and enjoye oure olde lawes, customes, lyberties, and Franchesses, under you as we have before thys done under other Princes. Then the kynge aunswered, we have well hearde youre peticion, we will common wyth our counsayll and make you aunswere, and when he had communed wyth his counsayll, he aunswered sayenge: Syrs, he that asketh mercye of us, shall not be denied, seinge you come to treate, we remitte you to oure counsayll. Then they wente into the tente of counsayll, and ther the Tournasyns fell at a poyncte, and in conclusion, they yelded the Cytye and tenne thousande pounde Sterlynge for the redempcyon of theyr lyberties, and so departed to the citie, makynge relacyon of the Kynge, and hys noble corage. On Thursdaye the xxix. daye of September, the kynge was in hys ryche tente of clothe of golde under hys clothe of estate, to whome came the Citezens of the Citie and were sworne to him and became his subjectes. Then the kynge appoyncted the lord Lysle, the Lorde of Burgayny, and the Lord Willoughby to take possession, whiche wyth syxe thousande men entered the citie and toke the market place and the walles, and searched the howses for feare of treason, and then Mayster Thomas Wolsey the kynges Almoner called before hym all the Citizens younge and olde and sware them to the kynge of Englande, the nomber whereof was foure skore thousande. Thus the kynge of Englande by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tournay: on Sondaye the ii. daye of October the kinge entered the citie of Tournay at porte Fountayn, and iiii. of the chiefe of the citie over him bare a cannapye wyth all the armes of Englande, every person was in hys beste apparell, the Ladies and Gentlewomen laye in the wyndowes beholdinge the kinge and his nobilitie, everye Citezen had in his hande a staf torche, the kynge hym selfe was richelye appereilled in ryche armure on a barded courser, his henxmen bearynge his peces of warre, as are, spere and other, their coursers were barded with the armes of Englande, Fraunce, Irelande, and other the kinges dominions all of ryche embrawdery, thus the kinge with his nobilitie al

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al rychely apparelled with his swerde borne before him, his herauldes and serjantes of armes with trumpettes and mynstrelsy entered the citie and came to oure Ladye Churche, and there *Te Deum* was songe. Then the kinge called to his presence, Edwarde Guldeforde, William Fitzwilliam, Jhon Dauncye, William Tiler, Jhon Sharpe, William Huse, Jhon Savage, Christopher Garnishe, and diverse other valiant esquiers, and gave to them the order of knighthode, and then went to his lodgynge, and at after none he came to the market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a proclamacion to bee made in his name king of England and of Fraunce, that no man shoulde greve the citizens, during which proclamacion the Turnesins scace loked up nor shewed once to him any amiable contenaunce which was much marked, the Cry finished, the king departed to hys campe levynge the citie in safe kepynge. This weke the kinge rode to see the castel of Morton, and there his grace toke great pleasur. The king remembring the great chere that the prince of Castel and the lady Margarete had made him at Lisle which was but xii. myle English from Tornay, desired the said prince and lady wyth diverse other to come to him to his citie of Tornay, and made preparacion for the same, and appointed a justes wherof he him selfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the Market place. While these thinges were preparyng, the king and his counsayll ordered for the sure keping of the citie of Tornay, and there ordeyned Sir Edward Powninges knight of the order of the gartier to be his Lieutenaunt with iiii. C. archers, with capitaynes horsemen and artilerie convenient, and to have aide of Henawde and other the kynges frendes adjoyning, and of his garde he left there iiii. C. archers, and ordinaunce was appoincted for the defence of the same. Monday the xi. day of October the king wythout the toune received the prince of castel, the lady Margaret and diverse other nobles of their countreyes and them brought into Tornay with great triumphe. The noyse wente that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the lady Margarete duches of Savoy and doughter to Themperour Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the kyng wyth many rich gyftes and money borowed, but whether he profered mariage or not she favored him highly: there the prince and duches

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duches sojorned with great solace by the space of x. dayes. During whiche time, the xviii. daye of October, began the justes, the king and the lord Lisle aunswered all commers: uppon the king attended xxiiii. knightes on foote in cootes of purple velvet and cloth of golde. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armorie and releve, the king had a base and a trapper of purple velvet bothe set ful of S.S. of fyne bullion, and the lord Lisle in the same suyt, ther were many speres broken and many a good buffet geven, the strangers as the lord Walon and the lord Emery and other dyd right well. When the justes were done, the king and al the other unhelmed them and rode about the Tilt and did great reverence to the ladies, and then the herauldes cried to lodginge.

This nyght the kinge made a sumpteous banket of a C. dyshes to the prince of Castell and the lady Margarete and to all other lordes and ladies, and after the banket, the ladies daunsed, and then came in the king and a xi. in a maske, al richely appareled with bonettes of golde, and when they had passed the tyme at their pleasure, the garmentes of the maske were cast of amongest the ladies, take who coulde take.

The xx. daye of October, the Prince of Castel and the ladye Margarete with many great giftes to them geven returned to Lile wyth al their trayne. After that the king was enformed that all direccyons wer taken and every thing put in an order for the sure keping of the citie of Tornay, he toke the same to sir Edward Powninges knight, which valiantly kept it in good order and justice.

The king and his counsail before this had considered that the Frenchmen would geve them no battail, and that winter approched, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay savely, and to breake up their campe for that winter, and to begin again war in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the kynge and his counsayll, and so the kinge and al hys people (excepte suche as were appoincted to be with sir Edward Powninges) departed out of Tournay the xx. daye of September: and the king and the noble men made such spede, that shortly they came to Caleys, and thyther came the Lorde Admirall whome the king hartely thanked of hys paynes and there every man was paied of his wages and conduit

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conduit money, and shippes prepared for the passage, and so the xxiiii. day of September the kyng with a privy company toke shippe and the same day landed at Dover and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small companye rode to Richemond in post to the quene, where was such a lovinge metyng, that every creature rejoised. This season began a great mortalite in London and other places wher much people died: Al this winter the kynges navy kept the seas and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmen on their costes.

When the kynge was thus returned, he forgat not the good service that many a gentleman dyd at the battayll at Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them hys lovinge letters wyth suche thankes and favorable wordes that everye man thought him selfe wel rewarded. And on the day of the purificacion of our Lady at Lambeth the kynge created the Earle of Surrey duke of Norffolke with an augmentacion of the armes of Scotlande, and Sir Charles Brandon Vicont Lisle, he created duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Haward high Admiral he created Earle of Surrey, and Sir Charles Somerset lord Harbert, his chief Chamberlayne he created Earle of Worcester: and after that at another daye he made Sir Edwarde Stanley for his good service, lorde Montaygle, and in a march folowynge was maister Thomas Wolsey the kinges almoner consecrate bishop of Lincolne, whiche therto was named on Newers daye before: This man was borne at Ypswhyche and was a good Philosopher, verye eloquente and full of wytte, but for pride, covetous, and ambicion, he excelled al other as you shall hear after.

The discription of Thomas Wolsy, which afterwarde was made Cardinall.

In the tyme of Kinge Henry the seventh father to kynge Henrye the eighte it was concluded betwene the sayde kinge, and kinge Phylyppe of Castel sonne to Maximilian the Emperour and kynge of Castell and hys wife, that Charles his eldest sonne shoulde marye the ladye Mary doughter to the kynge of Englande wyth a dowrye to her appoyncted, at whiche tyme they were bothe younge: Nowe at the kinges retourne from Tournay he made a preparacion too sende the sayde Ladye his sister to the Prince of Castel. But the counsayll of Flaunders aunswered that concerninge her selfe they would gladdly receyve to be espowsed to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the worlde: but as concerninge the artycles of her dowar, they coulde not fulfill

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fulfill wythout thassente of the kynge of Arragon and the realme of Castell (whyche was sayde, mynded to have hym maryed in Spayne.) The kynge lyke a lovynge brother woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured, toke the firste agremente betwene the kynge her father and kynge Philippe hys father to bee of none effecte, sythe the Spaniardes would not conferme the same, and the cause was, by reason that kinge Phylyppe was not naturallye borne to bee theyr kynge, but was kynge in the ryghte of hys wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agreementes made wythoute their consente. So thus the kynge of Englande reteyned stil hys syster and all the preparacyon that he hadde done for her conveyaunce, whiche was very costlye.

This season the lady Margaret quene of Scottes late wife to king James the IIII. slayne at Bramston, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the kynge to have compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare lest he woulde have invaded her realme. The king moved with brotherly compassion, sent her word, that yf the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, yf they woulde have war he wold likewise have war, and so with that answere the messenger departed. In the spring tyme of the yere the kyng wrote hys letters to all noble men and gentlemen that he woulde shortly passe agayne into Fraunce in hys owne person, wherfore every man prepared him self mete for that jornay: the Flemminges hearing therof, made purviaunce for wagons, vitayl and other thynges, whiche turned them to great losse for that viage brake of, as you shall heare.

All this season Sir Richard Whethil and sir Jhon Tremayle kept so Thenglishe pale that the Frenchmen durst not medyll, and yet they spoyled to base Bollen.

Before this tyme the tounes about London as Islyngton, Hoxston, Shordysh and other, had so enclosed the comon feldes with hedges and diches, that nother the young men of the citie myght shote, nor the auncient persons might walke for their pleasur in the feldes, except either the bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substancial persons arrested or indited, saieng that no Londoner shuld go out of the citie but in the hygh wayes. Thys sayeng sore greved the Londeners, and sodainly this yere a great nomber of the citie assembled them selfes in a morninge, and a turnar in a fooles coote came cryenge through

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through the cytye, shovels and spades, and so manye people folowed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast doune, and the diches filled, and every thyng made plain the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsayll hearyng of this assembly came to the Gray Friers, and sent for the mayre and the counsail of the cytye to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysance done to the Citezens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them though they would not yet the commonaltie and younge persones, whyche were dampnefyed by the noisaunce would pluck up and remedy the same. And when the kinges counsayll had harde the aunswer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the mayer to se that no other thynge were attempted, and to call home the citezens, which when they had done their enterprice, came home before the kynges counsayll and the Mayre departed without any harme more doing, and so after, the feldes were never hedged.

THE VI. YERE.

The vi. yere.

IN the moneth of Maye the kyng and the newe Duke of Suffolke wer defenders at the Tilt against al commers the kynge was in a scopelary mantel and hat of clothe of silver and like a whit hermite, and the duke appareled like a black hermite al of black velvet, both their berdes wer of Damaske silver, and when they had ridden about the Tilt and shewed them seles to the quene, then they threw of their apparel and sent it to the ladies for a larges, then was the king in black, and the Duke in whit with black staves, on the staves was wrytten with whit letters: *who can hold that wyl away*: thys poyse was judged to be made for the Duke of Suffolke and the Duches of Savoy, at these justes were the duke of Longevyle and the Lorde Cleremond, and there the kinge and the Duke dyd so valiantly that they obteyned the price, at these justes wer broken C. xiiii. speres in a short season.

The kinge at this season sent agayne into Flaunders for the performaunce of the mariage of the younge Prince of Castell and the fayre Ladye Mary his sister, and shewed howe he had prepared al thynges necessarie and convenient for

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for suche an high estate. The counsail of Flaunders aunswered that they woulde not receive her that yere, with many subtill argumentes, by reason wherof the perfite love betwene Englande, and the low countreys was much slaked.

The Capp of maintenaunce.

The xix. day of May was receyved into London a Capp of maintenaunce and a swerde sent from Pope July, with a great compaigny of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the kyng on the Sondaye then nexte ensuynge wyth great solempnitie in the Cathedrall Churche of sainct Paule. About this time, the warres yet contynuing betwene Englande and Fraunce, prior Jhon (of whom you have hard before in the fourth yere) great capitayne of the Frenche navye, wyth his Galeyes and Foystes charged wyth greate basylyskes and other greate artillerie came on the border of Sussex, and came a lande in the night at a poore village in Sussex called Bright Helmston, and or the watche coulde him escrye he sett fier in the toune and tooke such poore goodes as he founde: then the watche fiered the bekins, and people began to gather, whiche seinge Prior Jhon Sowned his trompet to call his men aborde, and by that tyme it was day: then syx archers whiche kepte the watche folowed Prior Jhon to the sea and shott so faste, that they bet the galymen from the shore and Prior Jhon hym selfe waded to his Foyst, and the Englishe men went into the water after, but they were put backe wyth pickes or ells they had entered the foyst, but they shott so fast, that they wounded many in the foist, and Prior Jhon was shott in the face with an Arrow, and was likely to have died, and therfore he offered his image of wax before our Lady at Bolleyn with the English arrow in the face for a myracle.

When the lorde Admirall of Englande had hearde these newes he was not content and sent sir Jhon Wallop to the sea incontinent wyth diverse English shippes, which sayled to the cost of Normandy and there landed and brent xxi. villages and tounes with great slaughter of people, and brent shippes and boates in the havens of Treaport, stapels and in every place. This sir Jhon Wallopp quit hym selfe so, that men marveled of his entreprises, considerynge he had at the most but viii. C. men, and toke lande there so often.

In the moneth of June the lord Powntremy that was capitayn of Tyrwyn with banner displayed and greate ordinaunce,

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naunce, with a greate army came into Picardy nere to Arde. Sir Nicholas Vaux captain of Guysnes considering that the Frenchmen had such ordinaunce, thought that they would have besieged Guisnes, and wrote therof to the king, which incontinent provided a great army for the reskewe. And when every thynge was ready and the army forward, the lord Pountremy reised his campe, and departed without anye more doing, but for all that the king sent over sir Thomas Lovell knight wyth vi. C. men to Caleys for the more strength of that towne and other townes and castelles beyng within the Englysh pale and the marches there.

The French king this yere appoincted to Richard de la Pole traitor of England and banished the realme xii. M. lanceknightes to kepe Normandy, and also to entre into England and to conquere the same, where they made suche a Riot that many of them were slayn and he was faine to cary them to sainct Malos in Britaigne to take shippe: for the Frenchmen would fayne have bene rydde of them, they cared not how, their condicions were so vyle and shameful, but by the reason that the French kyng suyd for peace, this journey toke no effect.

The French king by an herauld wrote to the king of England, that he marveiled greately why he made him so sore war, and brent and toke his townes, slewe and robbed hys people withoute anycause geven on his parte, wherfore he required the king to graunt saveconduit to his ambassadoures, whiche shoulde entreate the cause: wherupon in June the French king sent a commission with the president of Roan and the generall boyer and certayne other nobles of Fraunce to entreat peace and alliaunce betwene both the princes: and farther, because that they knew that the mariage was broken betwene the prince of Castel and the lady Mary (as you have heard) thei desiered the said lady to be espoused to the French king, affirming a great dower and suertes for the same with great treasures: so much was offered that the king moved by his counsail, and specially by the bishop of Lincolne Wolsey, consented upon condicion that yf the saide French king Loys died, then she should yf it pleased her retorne into England again with al her dowar and riches: after this entretie, the indentures were sealed and the peace proclaimed the vii. daye of August and the king in presence of the French ambassadours sworn to kepe the same, and likewyse

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likewyse ther was sent an Ambassade out of Englande to se the French kynge swere the same.

The Dutchmen hering these newes were sory, and repented them that they received not the lady, and spake shamfully of this mariage, that a feble, old and pocky man should mary so fayr a lady, but the voys of people let not princes purposes.

By the conclusion of this peace was the duke of Longvile and other prisoners delivered, payeng their raunsom, and the saied Duke affied the lady Mary in the name of kyng Lewes his maister. This Duke was highly interteined in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they came into Fraunce with the quene he would scace know them. Then when al thinges were redy for the conveyaunce of this noble Ladye, the kyng her brother in the moneth of September with the quene his wife and his sayde sister and al the court came to Dover and there taried, for the wynde was troublous and the wether foule, in so muche that a shippe of the kings called the Libeck of xi. C. tonne was driven a shore before Sangate and there brast and of vi. C. men scantely escaped iii. C. and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the wether was fayre, then all her wardrope, stable and riches was shipped, and suche as were appoincted to geve their attendaunce on her, as the duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Byshop of Durham, the earle of Surrey, the lorde Delawar, the lorde Barnes, the lord Montaigle, the Marques iiii. brother, sir Morice Barkeley, sir Jhon Peche, sir William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, sir Jhon Car and many other knightes, squiers, gentlemen and ladies, al these went to ship, and the sayde lady toke her leave of the quene in the castell of Dover, and the king brought her to the sea syde, and kissed her and betoke her to God and the fortune of the sea, and to the governaunce of the French king her husbande. Thus the ii. daye of October at the hower of foure of the clocke in the mornynge this fayre ladye toke her ship with al her noble compaignie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the sea, the wynde rose and severed some of the shippes to Caleys, and some into Flaunders and her shippe with greate difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great jeopardie at the entring of the haven, for the mayster ran the ship hard on shore, but the botes were redy and received this noble lady,

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lady, and at the landynge sir Christopher Garnyshe stode in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caried her to land, where the Duke of Vandosme and a Cardinall wyth many estates received her, and al her ladies, and welcommed all the noble men into that countrey and so the Quene and al her trayne came to Bulleyn, and there rested and from thence she removed by diverse lodgynges tyll she came all most within thre mile of Abvile besyde the forrest of Arders, and there kynge Loyes uppon a great courser met with her, and she would have alyghted but he woulde not suffre her, and welcommed her to his countrey, and when he had sene her beauty (which he so long desired) and talked with her a litle space, then he returned to Abvile by a secret way and she was with great triumph, procession and pagiantes received into the toune of Abvile, the viii. day of October by the Dolphin, which receyved her with gret honor, she was appareiled in cloth of silver, her horse was trapped in goldsmyths work very rychly. After her folowed xxxvi. ladies, al their palfreys trapped with crymsyn velvet, embraudered: after them folowed one chariot of clothe of tyssue, the seconde clothe of golde and the third Crimsyn velvet embrawdered with the kings armes and hers full of roses. After them folowed a great nomber of archers, and then wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the ryches in plate, juels, money apparel, and hanginges that this lady brought into Fraunce. The Monday beyng the daye of Sainct Denyse, the same kynge Lewes maried the lady Mary in the great church of Abvile, bothe appareled in goldsmithes woorke. After the masse was done, there was a great banket and fest, and the ladyes of England highly entretayned.

The Tewesday beyng the tenth day of October al Thenglyshmen except a fewe that were officers with the sayd quene, were discharged which was a greate sorowe for theim, for some had served her longe in hope of prefermente, and some that had honest romes lefte them to serve her, and now thei were without service, which caused them to take thought in so much some died by the way returning, and some fel mad, but there was no remedy. After thenglishe Lordes hadde done their commission the French king wylled them to take no lenger payne, and so gave to them good rewardes, and thei tooke their leave of the

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the quene, and returned. Then the Dolphin of Fraunce called lord Frauncis duke of Valoys, and by his wife duke of Britaigne for the more honour of this mariage, before Thenglishmen departed from Abvile, caused a solempne justes to be proclaymed, which shoulde be kept at Paris in the moneth of November next ensuyng, and that he with his ix. aydes shoulde aunswere, all commers beyng gentlemen of name and of armes. Firste, to ronne v. courses at the Tylt with peces of avauntage, and also fyve courses at Randon with sharpe speres, and twelfe strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aides to fight at the barriers with al gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrst, syx foynes with handspeares, and after that eyght strokes to the most auantage yf the spere so long held, and after that twelfe strokes wyth the swerde, and yf any man be unhorsed or be felled with fightinge on foote, then hys horse and armoure to bee rendered to the officers of armes, and every man of thys chalenge must set up his armes and name upon an arche triumphante, whiche shalbe made at the place where the justes shalbee, and farther shall wryte to what poinct he shal aunswere to one or to all. When this proclamacion was reported in Englande by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, and hys foure brethren, the Lorde Clynton, Sir Edward Nevell, Sir Giles Capel, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the kyng to be at the chalenge, which request he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knyghtes prepared all thinge necessarye for their enterprice, and shypped their horses and harnesse, and dyd so muche by journeye, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the moneth of October, whiche were hartelye welcomed of the kyng and the Dolphin, but moste of all, of the French quene which then lay at saynct Denyse, and was not yet crouned nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset, whose activitie he knew well by reporte, to be two of his immediat aides, which therto assented: therfore was erected an Arch of widnes at the tournelles beside the strete on sainct Anthony, directly before the Bastel, on the which were set iiii. targettes or scutchions, the one silver and he that sett his name under that shylde, runne at the Tylt according to the articles: he that put his name under the

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the golden target should ronne with the sharpe speres and fight with sharpe swerdes: they that put ther names to the black shilde, should fight a foote with speres and swerdes for the one hand. And he that touched the tawney sheld shoulde cast a spere on foot with a targett on his arme, and after to fight with a ii. hand swerde: on this arche above stode the armes of the kyng and the quene, and benethe them stode the armes of the Dolphin and his aydes, and under nethe stode the iiii. scochions that you have harde of, and under theim all the armes and names of suche as set their names to any of the sayde iiii. scochions. While all these thinges were preparynge, the lady Mary of England the v. daie of November then being Sondaie, was with great solempnytee crowned Quene of Fraunce in the monasterie of Sayncte Denyce, and the Dolphyn all the season held the croune over her hed, because it was of greate waight to her grevance, at whiche coronacion were the lordes of England, and accordynge to ther degrees well enterteyned.

Mondaye the vi. daye of November the sayde Quene was receyved into the cytee of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the garde of the Cytee met with her without Sayncte Denyce all in coates of goldesmythes woorke with shippes gylt, and after them mett her all the priestes and religious which were estemed to be iii. M. The quene was in a chayre covered about (but not over her person) in white cloth of golde the horses that drewe it covered in cloth of golde, on her hed a coronall all of greate perles, her necke and brest full of Jueles, before her wente a garde of Almaynes after their fassion, and after them al noblemen, as the Dolphyn, the Duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longevyle, and the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorsett v. Cardynalles and a greate nomber of estates, aboute her person rode the kynges garde whiche were Scottes. Thus was this quene receyved into Paris and so conveyed to the cathedral churche and ther offered, and from thence to the pallayce where she offered at the holy Chapel, and from thence she went to the lodgyng for that nyght, for whome was provided a great supper and the heraulde cryed a *larges* and had to them geven a ship of silver and gylt, and other plate to the valewe of ii. C. marke, and after supper began daunsyng and pastyme.

pastyme. On the morowe began the justes, and the Dolphin with his aydes entered the feld, the apparell and bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of sylver and crymsyn velvet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed them selfs before the kyng and quene who were in a goodly stage, and the quene stode so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble and lay on a couche for weakenes. Then entered the counter parte by a rayle for combryng the place. These justes contynued iii. dayes, in the whiche were aunswered iii. hundred and v. men of armes and every man ran v. courses, and with sharpe speres, dyverse were slayne and not spoken of: the English lordes and knightes dyd as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a gentelman that he was like to die, the Marques strok Mounsire Crew an Albanoys with his spere and persed his hed pece and put hym in jeopardy: the duke of Suffolke in the tornay overthrewe a man of armes horse and man, so dyd the lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse theim. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he coulde not performe hys chalenge at the barriers and put one of his ayde in his rome, the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers and because the Dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde Marques Dorset that daye began the feld, and toke the barriers with speres in hand abyding all commers. The Dolphin brought a man secretly, which in al the court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne and put him in the place of an other person to have had the duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fiersly with face hyd, because he would not be knowen, and bare his spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him received, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for al that the Almayne strake strongly and hardly at the duke, and the judges suffred many mo strokes to be foughten then were appoincted, but when they saw the Almayne rele and staggar, then they let fall the rayle betwene theim. The lorde Marques Dorsett at the same time, even at the same barre fought with a gentelman of Fraunce that he lost his spere, and in maner with

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with drewe: When the rayle was let fal, these two noble men put up their vysers and toke ayer, and then they tooke swerdes with poynct and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the Almayne foughte sore with the duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce but the duke by pure strength tooke him about the necke, and pomeled so aboute the hed that the bloud yssued out of his nose, and then they were departed, and the Almayne was conveyed by the Dolphyn lest he should be knowen. These twoo noble men of Englande that daye fought valiantly diverse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended but it happened the lord Marques one time to put for his aide his youngest brother called the Lorde Edward Grey of the age of xix. yere, and to hym was put a gentelman of Fraunce of greate stature and strength to thentente to plucke hym over the barres, but yet the younge Lorde was of suche strength, powre and pollecy, that he so stroke his adversarie that he disarmed hym, al the face bare. Thus was these enterpryces fynished to the laude of al parties, and Thenglyshmen receyved muche honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were prively sett at and in many jeopardies: for the declaracion of this triumphe, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the courses trotted bounded and quickly turned: How valiantely the men of armes behaved them selfes and howe the Duke of Burbones bende was apparelled and bassed in tawny velvet, and clothe of sylver clowdy, the bende of therle of Sayncte Polle apparelled and barded in purple velvet all to cut on purple satten, the enfante of Arragon sonne to Frederycke last kynge of Napels, hys bende al in clothe of golde and sylver paled. This lord was but young but was very towarde. The Duke of Vandosme and his bende in clothe of golde, and pluncket velvet. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were every daye newe appareled at his coste, one daye in sylver and golde, a nother in Crymesyn velvet and yelowe velvet, and another daye in white velvet and grene, some daye myxted with satyn, some daye embraudered, some daye pounced with golde, and so every daie in chaunge as the woorkers fantasye coulde devyse, but the Englishemen had ever on their apparel red crosses to be knowen for love of their countre: at this triumphe the countie Galeas came into the place on a Jenett trapped in blewe satten and he hym selfe likewyse apparelled and

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and ran a corse with a speere, which was at the hed v. ynches on every syde square, that is xx. ynches about, and at the but ix. ynches square, that is xxxvi. ynches, this spere was tymber and yet for al that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightely avoyded it to his great honour.

Also ther was a nother gentelman called Anthony Bownarme whiche came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight x. speres that is to wyt iii. speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thygh ii. speres upwarde, and under his lefte arme was on spere backeward, and the x. in his hand, and when he came before the Quene he let hys horse ronne and never stopped tyll he had taken every spere after other and broken it on the grounde, and he never stopped his horse tyll all were broken, thys Gentleman was hyghely praysed and so he was worthy: when all this great triumphe was done, the lordes of England toke their leve and were highely thanked of the kynge, quene, Dolphin, and all the lordes, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. In November the quene was delivered of a prince which lived not longe after.

Richard Hun committed to the lollers tower and murthered.

This yere in December ther was one Richard Hun a marchaunt tailor of London in Lollers tower by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Rychard Fytzjames and doctoure Horsey his chaunceler, whiche was a man more of witt to preferre the Byshoppes jurisdicion and the clergie, then the trueth of the Gospell: but so it was that the said Hun was found dead hanging by the neck in a girdle of silke, within the said towre. The beginning of this matter must be shewed for the folowing of the consequent: for this Hun had a child that died in his house being an infant, the curate clamed the bering shete for a mortuary. Hun answered that the infant had no propertie in the shet, wherupon the priest ascited him in the spiritual courte, he taking to him good counsail, sued the curat in a preminire, and when the priestes hard of this, thei did so much of malice that they accused him of heresy, and brought him to the lollers tower and ther was founde deed as you have hard.

This man was counted of honest reputacion, no man to the sight of people more vertuous, wherfore upon this mater a greate matter folowed, for the Byshoppe and his Chaunceller doctour Horsey sayde that he hanged him selfe, and all the temporaltie sayde that he was murthered, and there

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there upon xii. men were charged before the Coronour whiche xii. were elected by greate dyscrecion, and many tymes they were wyth the kynges counsayll and hard their opinions, but in the meane season the Bysshop of London brent the dead Carcasse of the sayde Rycharde Hun in smythfeld, to the abhominacion of the people: but after that the matter had ben hard by the judges, and after by the kynges counsayll his grace beyng present and hering the cause openly debated and much borne by the spiritualtie, yet at the last he remitted it to the tryall of the lawe, and so upon good evidence doctour Horsey the Chaunceller and Belrynger with Charles Joseph the somner, were endyted of the murther: but afterward by the meanes of the spiritualty and money, Doctour Horsey caused the kynges attorney to confesse on his arraynement hym not to be gylty, and so he escaped and went to Exetre, and for very shame durst never come after to London. But yet for a further truthe to be declared in this abhominable and detestable murther, here shall folow the whole inquyry and verdicte of thenquest woorde for worde.

The inquiry of the death of Richard Hun.

The v. and the vi. daie of December in the vi. yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde kyng Henry the VIII. Wyllyam Barnewell crowner of London, the daye and yere above sayde within the warde of Castylbaynerd of London assembled a quest, whose names afterwarde doo appere, and hath sworne theim truely to enquire of the death of one Rychard Hun whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollers tower with in Pauls church of London, wherupon al we of the inquest together went up into the sayd tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging upon a staple of iron in a gyrdell of sylke, with faire countenaunce hys heed fayre kemmed, and his bonet right sittyng upon his heed, with his eyen and mouth fayre closed, withoute any staring, gapyng, or frownyng. Also without any drevelyng or spurgyng in any place of his body, wherupon by one assent all we agreed to take downe the body of the saide Hun, and as sone as we began to heve at the body it was loose, wherby by good advysement we perceyved that the gyrdell had no knot above the staple, but it was double cast and the linkes of an iron chayne which dyd hang on the same staple were laid upon the same gyrdle wherbi he did hang: Also the knot of the gyrdel that went about his neck stode under

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under his left eare, whiche caused his head to leane toward his right shoulder. Not withstanding there came out of the nostrels ii. smal stremes of bloud to the quantite of iiii. dropes, save only these iiii. dropes of blode, the face lippes, chinne, doublet, coler, and shurt of the saide Hun was cleane from any bloud. Also we fynd that the skyn both of his neck and throte beneth the gyrdel of sylk, was fret and fased away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his neck with all. Also the handes of the sayd Hun wer wrong in the wristes, wherby we perceyved that his handes had been bounde.

Moreover we fynd that within the sayde prison was no meane wher by any man might hang him selfe, but onely a stole, which stole stode upon a bolster of a bed, so tyckle that any man or beast myght not touche it so lytle but it was redy to fall, wherby we perceyved that it was not possible that Hun might hange him selfe the stole so standinge. Also all the gyrdell from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck was to litle for his hed to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft sylken gyrdell shoulde breake his neck or skyn beneth the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner somewhat beyonde the place wher he dyd hang, a great persell of bloud. Also we fynde that upon the lyfte syde of Huns Jacket from the breast downeward ii. great stremes of bloud. Also within the flappe of the lyft syde of his Jacket, we fynde a greate cluster of bloude and the Jacket folden downe therupon, whiche thing the saide Hun coulde never folde nor do after he was hanged: Wherby it appeareth plainly to us all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the greate plenty of bludde was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all wee fynde by God and all our consciences that Rychard Hun was murthered: also we acquyte the said Richard Hun of his aune deathe.

Also an ende of a wax candell whiche as Jhon Belrynger sayeth, he lefte in the pryson burnyng with Hun that same Sondaye at nyght that Hun was murthered, whiche waxe candell we founde styckynge upon the stockes fayre put oute, aboute seven or eyght fote from the place where Hun was hanged, whiche candell after oure opynion was never put oute by hym, for many lykelyhodes whiche we have perceyved. Also at the goynge up of Master Chaunceller into

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into the Lollars tower we have good proofe that there laye on the stockes a gowne eyther of murrey or crimosyn in grayn furred with shankes, whose goune yt was wee coulde never prove, neyther who bare it awaye. All wee fynde that Master Wyllyam Horsey Chaunceller to my lorde of London hath had at his commaundement bothe the rule and guydynge of the sayde prysoner. Moreover, all we fynde that the sayde Master Horsey Chaunceller hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the sayde Charles hath confessed, because he would not dele and use the sayde prisoner so cruelly and do to him as the Chaunceller would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliveraunce of the keyes to the Chaunceller by Charles on the Saturdaye at nyght before Huns deathe and Charles ryding out of the towne on the Sondaye in the mornyng ensuyng was but a convencion made betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller, for to colour the murther, for the same Sondaye that Charles rode furth, he came agayne to towne the Sonday at nyght, and kylled Rychard Hun, as in the deposycions of Julian Littell, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turney doeth appere.

After colouryng of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller conspired, the Chaunceller called to hym one Jhon Spaldyng Belrynger of Poules and delyvered to the same Belrynger the keyes of the Lollars towre, gevyng to the sayde Belrynger a great charge, sayeng: I charge the to kepe Hun more straytely than he hath been kepte, and let hym have but one meale a daye. Moreover I charge the, let no body come to hym wythoute my lycence, neyther to brynge hym shurt, cap, kercheffe, or any other thynge, but that I see it before yt come to hym. Also before Hun was caried to Fulham, the Chaunceller commaunded too bee put uppon Huns necke a greate coller of Iron with a greate chayne whiche is to hevy for any man or beast to were and longe to endure.

Moreover it is well proved that before Huns death the sayd Chaunceller came up into the sayde Lollers tower, and kneled downe before Hun, holdyng up hys handes to hym, prayenge hym of forgevenesse of all that he had done to hym and muste do to hym. And on the Sondaye folowynge the Chaunceller commaunded the Penytensary of Poules, too goo up to hym and saye a Gospell, and make for hym holy water

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water and holye breade, and geve yt to hym, whiche so dyd and also the Chaunceller commaunded that Hun should have his diner. And the same dyner tyme Charles boye was shute in pryson with Hun, whiche was never so before, and after dyner whan the Belrynger set oute the boye, the Belrynger sayde to the same boye, come no more hyther with mete for hym untyll to morowe at noone, for my mayster Chaunceller hathe commaunded that he shall have but one meale a daye: and the same night folowynge Rychard Hun was murthered, whiche murder coulde not have been done wythoute consente and lycence of the Chaunceller, and also by the wittynge and knowelege of Jhon Spaldynge Belrynger, for there coulde no man come into the prysone but by the keyes beyng in Jhon Belryngers kepynge. Also as by my Lorde of Londons booke doeth appere, Jhon Belrynger is a poore innocente man, wherefore all wee doo perceyve that thys murther coulde not be done, but by the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the wittynge and knowyng of Jhon Belrynger.

Charles Joseph wythin the tower of London of hys awne free wyll and unconstreyned sayde, that Master Chaunceller devysed and wrote with his awne hand, all suche heresyes as were layd to Huns charge, recorde Jhon God, Jhon Truy, Jhon Pasmar, Richard Gybson with many other.

Also Charles Joseph sayeth, that whan Rychard Hun was slayne Jhon Belrynger bare upp the steyre into Lollars tower a waxe candell, havynge the keyes of the dores hangynge on hys arme, and I Charles went nexte to hym, and master Chaunceller came up last, and whan all wee came up, we founde Hun lyenge on hys bedde, and than Master Chaunceller sayde, lay handes on the thefe and so all we murthered Hun, and than I Charles put the gyrdell about Huns necke, and than Jhon Belrynger and I Charles dyd heve up Hun and Master Chaunceller pulled the gyrdell over the staple, and so Hun was hanged.

The deposicion of Julian littell Late servaunt to Charles Joseph by her fre will unconstrayned the vi. yere of oure sovereigne lord kyng Henry the VIII. within the Chapell of our lady of Bethelem shewed to thynquest.

Fyrst Julian sayeth, that the Wednesdaye at nyght after the

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the death of Rychard Hun, that Charles Joseph her master came home to hys supper: than Julian sayde to hym, master it was tolde me that ye were in pryson, Charles aunswered, it is merye to turne the penye, and after supper Charles trussed persell of his goodes, and with helpe of Julyan bare them into Master Porters howse to kepe, and that done Charles sayde to Julian. Julian, yf thou wilt be sworne to kepe my counsayll I wyl shewe the my mynde. Julian aunswered ye, yf it be neyther felonie or treason: than Charles toke a boke oute of his purse, and Julian sware to hym therupon, than sayde Charles to Julian, I have distroyed Rycharde Hun. Alas Master sayde Julian, howe, he was called an honest man? Charles aunswered, I put a wyre in his nose, Alas sayde Julyan nowe be ye cast awaye and undone, than sayde Charles Julyan I truste in the that thou wylt kepe my counsayll, and Julyan aunswerd, ye but for Godes sake master shifte for your selfe, and than Charles sayde I had lever than a hundred pound yt were not done, but that is done can not be undone. Moreover Charles sayde than to Julyan, upon Sondaye whan I rode to my cousyn Baryngtons house, I taryed there and made good chere all daye tyll yt was nyght, and yet before it was mydnyghte I was in London, and had kylled Hun, and upon the next day I rode thether agayn and was there at dyner, and sent for neyghbours and made good chere. Than Julian asked Charles, where set you your horse that nyght you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home, Charles aunswered, I came not home for feare of bewraiynge, and than Julian asked Charles, who was wyth you at the kyllynge of Hun, Charles aunswered, I wyll not tell the: and Julyan saythe that upon the Thursdaye folowynge Charles taryed all daye in his house with great fere, and upon Frydaye folowyng erly in the mornynge before daye, Charles went foorth (as he sayde) he wente to Poules, and at his commyng in agayne he was in great fere sayenge Hastely, get me my horse and with great feare and hast made hym redye to ryde, and bad Mayster Porters lad lede his horse into the felde by the backsyde, and than Charles put into hys sleve hys mase or masor wyth other plate, and borowed of Masteres Porter bothe golde and sylver, but howe muche I am not sure, and Charles wente into the felde after hys horse, and Julyan brought hys booget after hym. Also upon

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upon Fryday in Christmas weke folowyng, Charles came home late in the night and brought with him iii. bakers and a Smyth of Stratforde, and the same nyght they caried out of Charles house all his goodes by the feld syde to the Bell at Shordyche, and erly in the mornynge conveyed yt with cartes to Stratford.

Moreover Julyan sayth that the Saturdaye at nyght before the death of Hun, Charles came home and broughte with him a Gurnard, sayenge, yt was for Hun, and Charles boye telled to Julian, that there was also ordeyned a pece of freshe Salmon, whiche Jhon Belrynger had.

Also Charles sayde to the sayde Julyan, were not this ungratious trouble, I coulde brynge my Lorde of London to the dores of heretyques in London bothe of men and women that ben worthe a thowsand pound: But I am aferd that the ungracious myd wyfe shall bewraye us all.

Also Charles sayde unto maistres Porter in lykewyse and more larger saieng of the best in London, where to maistres porter answered, the best in London is my lord Mayer, than Charles sayde, I wil not skuse him quyte for he taketh this matter whote.

Where as Charles Joseph saieth he laye at necke hill with a harlott a mans wyfe in Baringtons house the same nyght, and there abode untyll the morowe at xi. of the clocke that Richarde Hun was murthered whereupon he brought before the kynges counsayll for his purgacion the forsayde baude Baryngtons wyfe, and also the foresayde harlott, whiche purgacion we have proved al untrewe as right largely may appere as well by the deposicion of Julian Littell, as of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor and of Jhon Symons Stacioner, with other, as of Robert Jhonson and Peter Turner.

The deposycion of Thomas Chitcheley Taylor.

The sayd Thomas saieth, the same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quartar of an hower after vii. a clock in the morning, he met with Charles Joseph comming out of Pouls at the nether north dore, goyng toward Pater noster row, sayeng good morow master Charles, and the sayd Charles answered, good morow and turned hys back whan he was withoute the churche dore, and loked upon the saide Chitchelay.

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The deposicion of Thomas Symondes Stacioner.

He sayeth, the same mornyng that Hun was founde deed, that with in a quarter of an hower after vii. a clock in the mornynge, Charles Joseph came before him at his stal and sayd good morow goshyp Symons, and the same Symons sayd good morow to him agayne, and the wyfe of the same Symons was by him, and because of the dedly contenaunce and hasty goyng of Charles, the sayd Thomas bad his wife loke whither Charles gothe, and as she coulde perceyve, Charles went into an ale howse standing in Pater noster rowe by the Aley ledyng into the rode of Northerne, or into the Aley whither she could not well tell.

The deposicion of Roberte Jhonson and his wife dwellyng at the bell in Shorditche, where Charles Joseph sett his horse that nyghte that he came to toune to murther Richard Hun.

The sayde Robert sayeth that Charles Joseph sent hys horse to hys house upon a holydaye at nyght about iii. wekes before Christmas by a boy, which horse was albe swet, and albe myred: and the said boye sayd let my fathers horse stand sadelled, for I can not tel whether my father wyll ryde agayne to nyghte or not, and the sayde horse stode sadelled all nyght and in the mornynge folowynge Charles came boted and spurred aboute viii. of the clocke, and asked yf hys horse was sadelled and the servaunt aunswered: ye, and the sayde Charles lepte upon his horse and prayed the hoste to let hym out of his backe gate that he myght ryde out by the feld syde, whyche host so dyd. And because he was uncertayne of the daye, we asked hym yf he hard speke of the death of Hun at that tyme or not, and he aunswered nay: but shortly after he did. Neverthelesse Peter Turner Charles sonne in law which brought the horse by nyght into the Bell Robert Jhonsons house, confessed it was the same night before that Hun was founde dead in the morning. Moreover the Frydaye before Huns deth Peter Turner sayde to an honest woman a waxe chaundelers wyfe dwelling before sainct Maries spitel gate, that before this day seven night Hun should have a mischevouse death. And the same daye at after none this Hun was founde dead, the sayde Peter

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Peter came to the same wyfe and tolde her that Hun was hanged, sayenge what told I you.

Also James the Chauncellers cooke, the Fryday before Huns death, sayde to v. honest men, that Hun shoulde dye or Christmas, or els he woulde dye for hym, and on the Mondaye that Hun was founde dead the sayde James came to the same men: and sayde, what tolde I you, is he not now hanged.

And we of thynquest asked both of Peter Turner and of James cooke wher they had knowlege that Hun should so shortely dye, and thei sayd in master Chauncellers place by every man.

The deposicion of Jhon Spaldyng Belrynger.

Fyrste the sayde deponent sayeth, that on Saturdaye the seconde daye of December Anno M. D. xiiii. he toke the charge of the pryson at foure of the clocke at after none, by the commaundemente of master Chaunceller, and so toke the keyes, wherupon he gave commaundement to the deponent, that he should let no maner of person speke with the prysoner excepte he had knowlege of them, and so at v. of the clocke the same daye the sayde deponent wente to the prysoner hym selfe alone, and sawe hym and cheryshed hym where he gave the sayde deponente a pece of fresh Salmon for his wyfe. And after that the sayde deponent sayeth that he went to master commissaries to supper with his felowe, where he remembred that he had left his knyfe with the sayde prysoner, wherupon by the counsayll of master Commissary he went to the prysoner and feched his knyfe, where he founde the prisoner sayeng of his beades, and so the sayde deponent requyred his knyfe of the sayde prisoner, and the saide prisoner delivered the knyfe to the sayd deponent gladly, and so departed for that nyght.

And after that on the Sonday next folowyng the said deponent came to the prisoner at ix. of the clock, and asked him what mete he would have to his diner and he aunswered but a morsell, and so the saide deponent departed and went to the Chaunceller into the quere, and he commaunded, that he should take the penitensary up to the prisoner with him to make hym holy water and holy bred, and made the saide deponent to departe the prison house for a whyle, and after that he brought hym his dyner, and locked Charles boye with

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with hym all dyner whyle, unto the hower of i. of the clocke, and so let the lad out agayne and asked hym what he would have to his supper, and he answered that he had meate ynough, and so departed untyll vi. of the clocke, and than the saide deponente broughte hym a quarte of ale, and at that tyme one Wylliam Sampson went with the sayde deponent to see the prysoner where he was, and sawe him and spake together, and so from the hower of vi. a foresayde unto twelfe a clocke on the morow the sayde deponent came not there, and whan he came there he met the Chaunceller with other doctoures goynge to se the prisoner where he hanged.

The deposicion of Peter Turner, sonne in law of Charles Joseph.

Firste he sayeth that his father in lawe rode out of the toune upon Sonday the iiii. day of December. Anno xv. C. and xiiii. at vi. of the clock in the mornynge, weryng a cote of orenge tawny, on a horse cooler grysell, trottyng.

He sayeth the Sondaye next before that one Buttons wyfe gave knowledge to the saide deponente that his father shoulde bee arested by dyverse sergeantes assone as he coulde be taken, and thereupon the sayd deponente gave knowlege to the sayde father in lawe at the blacke Friers at the water syde. Wherupon he avoyded, and the same nighte mayster chaunceller gave the keyes to Jhon Belringer, and gave him charge of the prisoner and on the sayde Sondaye the sayde deponente wyth Jhon Belrynger served the sayde prisoner of his diner at xii. of the clocke and than Jhon Belrynger sayde to the deponent, that he would not come to him unto the morowe for my lord had commaunded him that the prisoner should have but one meales mete of the daye. Notwithstandyng that the sayde Jhon Belrynger after that he had shut Poules church dores, went to the foresaide prisoner, with another with him at vii. of the clock at nyght the sayde Sondaye.

And the sayde deponent sayeth, that he came on the Monday at the hower of eyghte of the clocke in the morenynge to seke Jhon Belrynger, and coulde not fynde hym, and taryed untyll the hye Masse of Poules was done, and yet he coulde not fynde Jhon Belrynger, and than Jhon Belryngers felowe, one Wyllyam, delyvered the keyes to the

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the sayde deponent, and so the said deponent with two officers of my lordes beyng somners went to serve the sayd prisoner, and whan they came the prisoner (thei saide) was hanged, his face to the wal warde, and upon that the sayde deponent immediatly gave knowelege to the chaunceller, wherupon the chaunceller went up with the master of the rolles, and master Subdeane with other doctoures unknowen, to the nomber of a dosen and their servauntes.

The deposicion of Jhon Enderby Barber.

The sayde Jhon Enderby sayth, the Frydaye before the death of Richard Hun, betwixte viii. and ix. of the clock in the morning, he met with Jhon Belrynger in estchepe, and asked of hym how master Hun fared, the sayd Belrynger aunswered, sayenge: There is ordeyned for hym so grevouse penaunce that when men here of it, they shal have great marvel therof: wytnesses that hard Jhon Belrynger saye these woordes Jhon Rutter Skrevener, and William Segar armourer.

Also the sayd Jhon Enderby sayth, the same Mondaye that Rychard Hun was founde ded, he met with the said Jhon Belrynger at the condith in gracious strete about ix. of the clock in the mornyng, askyng the sayd Belrynger, how master Hun fared, the sayde Belrynger aunswered, sayeng, he fared well this day in the mornyng betwixte v. and vi. of the clock. Howbeit, I am sory for hym for there can no body, come to hym untill I come, for I have the keyes of the dorees here by my Gyrdell, and shewed keyes to the sayd Enderby.

The deposicion of Alen Creswell wax Chaundeler.

The sayde Alen sayth, that Jhon Grandger servaunte with my lorde of London, in my lord of Londons kechyn, at such tyme as the sayd Alen was seryng of Huns coffen, that Grandger tolde to him that he was present with Jhon Belrynger the same Sonday at night that Richard was founde ded of the morowe whan his kepers set hym in the stockes, in so muche the sayde Hun desyred to borow the kepers knyfe, and the keper asked him what he would do with his knyfe, and answered, I had lever kyll my self than to be thus entreted. This deposicion the sayde Alen will prove

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prove as farforth as any christen man may, saieng that Grandger shewed to hym these wordes of his awne frewyl and mynde, without any question or enquiry to hym made by the said Alen. Moreover the sayd Alen sayth, that all that evenyng Grandger was in great feare.

The deposicion of Richard Horsnayle Bailyfe of the sanctuary towne called Good Esture in Essex.

The sayd Richard saith, the Fryday before Christmas daie last past, the one Charles Joseph, somner to my lord of London, became a sanctuary man, and the aforesayde Frydaye he regestred his name, the saide Charles sayenge yt was for the savegarde of his body, for there be certayne men in London so extreme agaynst hym for the deathe of Richard Hun, that he dare not abyde in London: Howbeit the sayde Charles saithe, he knowlegeth hym selfe gyltles of Huns death, for he delivered the keyes to the Chaunceller by Huns life, also the saide Bialife sayth, that Charles payd the deuty of the sayde regestryng, both to him and syr Jhon Studely Vicar.

The copye of my lorde of Londons Letter sent to my lorde Cardinall.

I beseche your good lordshipp to stande so good lord unto my poore chaunceller now in warde, and endited by an untrewe quest for the death of Richard Hun, upon the onely accusacion of Charles Joseph made by payne and duraunce, that by your intercession it may please the kynges grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferente persones of his discrete counsayll in the presence of the parties, or there be any more done in that cause, and that upon the innocency of my saide Chaunceller declared, it may further please the kynges grace to a ward a plackard unto his Atturnay to confesse the sayde enditement to be untrewe whan the tyme shall require it, for assured am I if my Chaunceller be tryed by any xii. men in London, they be so maliciously set. *In favorem heretice pravitatis*, that they wyl cast and condempne any clerke though he were as innocent as Abell. *Quare si potes beate pater adjuva infirmitates nostras et tibi imperpetuum devincti erimus.* Over this in most humble wyse I beseche you that I maye have the kynges

kynges gracious favour, whome I never offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speke with his grace and you, and I with al myne, shall pray for your prosperouse estate long to continue.

Your most humble Orator. R. L.

The Woordes that my lord of London spake before the lordes in the parliament chambre.

Memorandum, that the Byshop of London sayde in the parliament chamber, that there was a byll brought to the parliamente to make the jury that was charged uppon the deathe of Hun true men, and sayde and tooke upon hys conscience that they were false perjuried caytyfes, and sayde further more too all the Lordes their than beynge: for the love of GOD, loke upon this matter, for yf ye do not I dare not kepe myne awne house for heretiques: and sayde that the saide Rychard Hun hanged hym selfe, and that yt was hys awne dede and no mans els. And further more sayde, that there came a man to hys howse (whose wyfe was appeched of heresye) to speke with hym, and he sayde that he had no mynde to speke with the same man, which man spake and reported to the servauntes of the same Byshoppe, that yf hys wyfe woulde not holde styll her opinion, he woulde cutte her throte with his awne handes, with other woordes.

The sentence of the quest subscribed by the crouner.

The inquisicion intendid and taken at the citie of London, in the Parishe of sainct Gregorie, in the warde of Baynard Castel in London the syx daye of December, in the yere and reigne of kyng Henry the eight the syx yere, afore Thomas Barnewell crouner of our soveraigne lorde the kynge, within the Citie of London aforesayed. Also afore James Yarford, and Jhon Mondey Sheriffes of the sayed Cytie, uppon the sight of the bodie of Rychard Hun late of London Taylour, whiche was founde hanged in the Lollars Towre, and by the othe and profe of lawfull men of the same warde, and of other thre wardes next adjoyning as it ought to bee after the custome in the Cytie aforesayed, to enquyre, how, and in what manerwise, the sayde Rycharde Hun came unto hys death, and upon the othe of Jhon Bernard, Thomas Sterte, Willyam

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Willyam Warren, Henry Abraham, Jhon Aborow, Jhon Turner, Rebert Alen, Wylliam Marler, Jhon Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickehyll, Willyam Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Rychard Gibson, Christopher Crofton, Jhon God, Rycharde Holte, Jhon Pasmere, Edmonde Hudson, Jhon Aunsell, Rycharde Couper, Jhon Tynie, the whiche saied upon their othes, that where the saied Rychard Hun, by the commaundement of Rychard, byshop of London, was enprisoned and brought to holde in a pryson of the sayed byshops, called Lollars Towre lyeng in the cathedrall churche of saincte Paule in London, in the parishe of saincte Gregorie, in the warde of Baynerde castell aforesaied, Willyam Horseley of London clerke, otherwyse called Willyam Heresie, Chauncellour to Rycharde byshop of London, and one Charles Joseph late of London somner, and Jhon Spaldyng of London, otherwyse called Jhon belrynger, feloniously as felons to our lord the kyng, with force and armes against the peace of our sovereigne lorde the kyng, and dignitie of his croune, the fourthe day of December, the yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde the sixt a foresayed, of their great malice, at the parishe of saincte Gregorie aforesayed, uppon the sayed Recharde Hun made a fraye, and the same Rycharde Hun felonyously strangeled and smodered, and also the necke they did breake of the sayed Rycharde Hun, and there feloniously slew hym and murthered hym: and also the body of the sayed Rycharde Hun afterwarde the same iiii. daye, yere, place, paryshe and warde aforesayed, with the proper gyrdell of the same Rycharde Hun of sylke, blacke of coloure, of the value of xii. pence after his death upon a hoke dryven into a pece of tymber in the wall of the pryson aforesayed made faste, and so hanged hym againste the peace of oure sovereigne lorde the kynge, and the dignitie of hys croune, and so the sayed Jury hathe sworne upon the holy Evangelist, that the said William Horsey clerke, Charles Joseph, and Jhon Spalding of their set malice then, and ther, feloniously killed and murthered the sayed Rycharde Hun, in maner and forme abovesaied, agaynst the peace of our sovereigne lorde the kyng, his croune and dignitie.

Subscribed in this maner.

Thomas Barnewell, crouner of the citie of London.

This

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This Christmas on Newyeres night, the kyng, the duke of Suffolke and twoo other in mantels of clothe of sylver, and lyned with blew Velvet, the sylver was pounsed in letters, so that the Velvet might be sene through, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingall slopys, and all their hosen, doublettes and cotes were of the same fasshion cut and of the same stuffe, with them were foure ladies in gounes, after the fasshion of Savoy, of blew Velvet, lyned with clothe, the Velvet all to cutt, and mantels lyke tippettes knytte together all of sylver and on their heddes bonettes of burned golde, the foure torche bearers were in Satyn white and blew. This straunge apparell pleased muche every persone, and in especiall the Quene, and thus these foure lordes and foure ladies came into the Quenes chamber with greate lyght of torches, and daunsed a great season, and then put of their visers, and then they were wel knowen, and the Quene hartely thanked the kynges grace for her goodly pastyme, and kyssed hym.

Lykewyse on the twelve night, the kyng and the Quene came into the hall of Grenewyche, and sodaynly entered a tent of clothe of golde and before the tent stode foure men of armes, armed at all poynctes and swerdes in their handes, and sodaynly with noys of trompettes entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fearce fight, and sodainly came out of a place lyke a wood eight wyldemen, all appareiled in grene mosse, made with slyved sylke, with Uggly weapons and terrible vysages, and there foughte with the knyghtes eight to eight, and after long fyghtyng, the armed knyghtes drave the wylde men out of their places, and folowed the chace out of the hall, and when they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out syx lordes and syx ladyes rychely appareyled, and daunsed a greate tyme: when they had daunsed their pleasure, they entered the tent agayn and so was conveyed out of the hall, and then the kynge and the Quene were served with a right sumpteous banquet.

The third day of Februarie, the kyng made a solempne Justes, and he and the Marques Dorset would aunswere all commers, their apparell and bardes were of blew Velvet, and clothe of sylver, all to cutte in suttell knotes, rychely enbroudered, all the servitours in white and blewe sylke. The counterparte, whiche were xiiii. in number, rychely appareyled in

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in Velvet, clothe of golde, and brouderie, every man after his awne device. The kyng was that daye hyghly to be praysed, for he brake xxiii. speres besyde attayntes, and bare doune to ground a man of armes and hys horse: the lorde Marques and all other dyd valiauntly, and hadde muche prayse, for every man did passyng well, whiche is seldome sene in suche a case, but the kyng for a suertie exceded all other.

The iiii. day of October, the kyng removed to Lambeth, and on the morowe began the hygh courte of Parliament, fyr Thomas Nevel was then speaker, in this parliament was diverse actes made, but in especial two, whiche were muche spoken of, the one was the acte of apparail, and the other the acte of labourers, of these twoo actes was muche commoning and much busynes arose, for the labourers would in nowise labour by the daye, but all in taske and in greate, and therefore muche trouble fell in the countrey, and in especiall in Harvest tyme, for then husbandmen coulde scace get workemen to helpe in their Harvest. This Parliament contynued tyll Easter, in the whiche diverse subsidies were graunted to the kyng toward his great costes and charges, that he had bene at in his vyage Royall in Fraunce, and after Easter the nyne and twenty daye of the moneth of April, the kyng deliting to set forth young gentelmen, called Nicholas Carew, and Fraunces Bryan, and caused diverse other young Gentelmen, to be on the counter parte, and lent to them horse and harneys to encourage all youthe to seke dedes of armes. This yere died at Rome by poyson as was reported the Archebyshop of Yorke and Cardinall, called doctor Benbricke, whiche was the kynges Ambassadour there: this was a wise man and of a joly courage. The kyng then gave the saied Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then bishop of Lyncoln, whiche at that tyme bare all the rule aboute the kyng, and what he saied was obeied in all places. And when he was once Archebishop he studied day and nyght how to be a Cardinall, and caused the kyng and the Frenche kyng to write to Rome for hym, and at their requestes he obteyned his purpose as you shall here afterwarde.

Cardinal Benbrick poysoned at Rome.

At this tyme was muche commoning, and verely as it appered it was entended, that the kyng in person would passe the sea to Caleys, and there on the marches of the same,

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same, the Frenche king and Quene to come and se the kyng their brother, and for the same jorney many costly workes were wrought, and much ryche apparell provided for, and much preparacion made against the next spryng: but death, whiche is the last ende of all thynges let this jorney, for before the next spring the Frenche kyng dyed at the citie of Paris, the first daye of January, when he had bene maried lxxxii. dayes. And when the kyng was advertised of the death of the Frenche kyng, he caused a solempne obsequie to be song for hym in the cathedral church of s. Paule with a costly herse, and many noble men being present.

And after he sent a letter to comforte the Quene his sister, requyryng to knowe her pleasure whither she would continue styl in Fraunce or returne into Englande againe. And when he was advertysed of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the duke of Suffolke, syr Richard Wyngfeld, and doctor West with a goodly bande of yomen all in blacke to Parys, whiche were well received of the newe Frenche kyng Fraunces the first of the name, and declared to hym, that according to the covenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene kyng Loyes and the ladie Marie, sister to the kyng of England, thei demaunded to have the sayde quene delivered to them with her dower, and shewed their commission for the receite of her. Then the counsaill of Fraunce, accordinge to the apointmentes assigned her a dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, then she was by endenture delivered to the duke, whiche behaved hym selfe so to her, that he obteined her good will to be her husband, and therupon he wrote to the kyng her brother, mekely besechyng hym of pardon of his request and humbly requiring him of his wil and consent, at whiche thinge the kyng a while staied, and at the last by the meane of the Frenche quene her selfe, and other great frendes on the dukes parte: After long suite it was agreed that the duke of Suffolke should bring her into England unmaried, and at his retorne to mary her in England: but for doubte of chaunge he maried her secretely in Parys as was sayde.

THE

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THE SEVENTH YERE.

AFTER that the duke of Suffolke had receaved the Frenche quene with her dower apointed, and all her apparell, juels and husholde stuffe delivered, he with the quene toke their leave of the Frenche kyng, leaving doctor West, nominate byshop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to bee made betwene the kyng of England, and the newe Frenche kyng called Fraunces the first, and so passed thorough Fraunce to Caleis, where she was honourably enterteined. And after with greate honoure maried to lorde Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some saied he was maried prively before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Against this mariage many men grudged and saied that it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maried to the prince of Castell: But the wysest sorte was content, considering that if she had bene maried again out of the realme, she should have caried much riches with her, and now she brought every yere into the realme ix. or x. M. markes: but whatsoever the rude people said, the duke behaved hym selfe, so that he had bothe the favour of the kyng and of the people, his witte and demeanour was such.

The kyng and the quene accompanied with many lordes and ladies roade to the high grounde of shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yomen, clothed all in grene with grene whodes and bowes and arrowes, to the number of ii. C. Then one of them, whiche called hym selfe Robyn hood, came to the kyng, desyryng hym to se his men shote, and the kyng was content. Then he whisteled, and all the ii. C. archers shot and losed at once, and then he whisteled again, and they likewyse shot agayne, their arrowes whisteled by crafte of the head, so that the noyes was straunge and great, and muche pleased the kyng the quene and all the company. All these archers were of the kynges garde and had thus appareled them selves to make solace to the kynge. Then Robyn hood desyred the kyng and Quene to come into the grene wood, and to se how the outlawes lyve. The kyng demaunded of the quene and her ladyes, if they durst adventure

A maiynge.

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adventure to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene said, that if it pleased hym, she was content, then the hornes blewe tyll they came to the wood under shoters hill, and there was an Arber made of bowes with a hal, and a great chamber and an inner chamber very well made and covered with floures and swete herbes, whiche the kyng muche praised. Then said Robyn hood, Sir, outlawes brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we use. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, and were served with venyson and vyne by Robyn hood and his men, to their great contentacion. Then the kyng departed and his company, and Robyn hood and his men them conduicted, and as they were returnyng, there met with them two ladyes in a ryche chariot drawen with v. horses and every horse had his name on his head, and on every horse sat a lady with her name written. On the first courser called Cawde, sate *humidite*, or *humide*. On the ii courser called *Memeon*, roade lady vert. On the iii. called *pheton*, sate lady vegetave. On the iiii. called *Rimphon*, sate lady pleasaunce. On the v. called *lampace*, sate swete odour, and in the Chayre sate the lady May, accompanied with lady *Flora*, richely appareled, and they saluted the kyng with diverse goodly songes, and so brought hym to Grenewyche. At this Maiyng was a greate number of people to beholde to their great solace and confort.

The same after none, the kyng, the duke of Suffolke, the Marques dorset, and the erle of Essex, their bardes and bases of grene velvet and clothe of golde, came into the fielde on great coursers, on whom wayted diverse gentelmen in silke of the same colour. On the other side entred xvi. lordes and gentelmen, all appareiled richely after their devises, and so valiauntly they ranne their courses appointed: and after that they ran volant one as fast as he might overtake another, whiche was a goodly sight to se: and when al was done they departed, and went to a goodly banquet.

This Sommer the kyng toke his progresse Westward, and visited his tounes and castels there, and hard the complaintes of his pore comminaltie, and ever as he roade, he hunted and liberally departed with venyson: and in the middes of September he came to his maner of Oking, and thether came to hym the Archebyshop of Yorke, whom he

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he hartely welcommed and shewed him great pleasures : And while he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the Archbyshop from Rome, certefiyng him howe he was elected to be a Cardinall, whiche incontinent shewed the same to the kyng, disabling him self in wordes, though his entent was otherwise, and so the king did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him my lorde Cardinall, but his hat, bul nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

In the moneth of November, the kyng assembled his hygh courte of Parliament at Westmynster, and diverse actes made in the Parliament the vi. yere, amended and altered, and especially the acte of apparell, and the acte of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more playnly apereth. And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebyshop of Cauntourbury perceaving that the Archebyshop of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelourship then it became hym to suffer, except he would aventure the kynges displeasure, and seing also that the said byshop of Yorke coveted to beare all the rule, and to have all the whole aucthoritie, consideryng also his awne great age, gave up into the kynges handes his rowme of Chauncelour, and delivered to the kyng the great Seale, whiche delivered the same to the Archebyshop of Yorke, and made hym Chauncelour. And assone as he was Chauncelour, he directed commissions into all Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execucion. And he hym selfe one daye called a gentelman named Symon fyz Richard, and toke from hym an olde Jacket of Crymosyn velvet and diverse broches, whiche extreme doinge caused hym greatly to be hated, and by his exsample many cruell officers for malice, evell intreated dyverse of the kynges subjectes, in so muche that one Shynnyng Mayre of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillory for weryng of a ryven shert.

The Cardinals hat receaved.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into Englande the Cardinalles hat, and receaved by gentelmen of Kent, and brought to London with suche triumphe as though the greatest prince of Christendome had bene come into the realme. And on a Sonday at s. Peters church at Westminster he receaved the habite, hat, and piller, and other vaynglorious tryfles, apperteignyng to the order of a Cardinal. And when he

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he was once a perfite Cardinall, he loked then above all estates, so that all men almost hated hym, and disdayned hym.

Then after the Parliament sir Edward pouninges laboured to be discharged of the keping of the citie of Torney, for there he was ever sickly, and so he was discharged, and sir William blunt lord Mountjoye was sent thether. And for Marshal there was apointed sir Sampson Norton. And when the lord Mountjoye was come thether, and sir Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the citie was in great jeopardy, the very cause was unknowen, but all the souldioure, except such as were of the kynges garde rebelled, and put the lord Mountjoye in jeopardy of his lyfe. And in conclusion to appease the people, sir Sampson Norton was banisshed the toune for ever. And after the citie was appeased, and every thing thought to be forgotten, diverse were executed, and diverse banished the toune and some fled and were banyshed both England and the toune.

After the Parliament was ended, the king kept a solempne Christmas at his maner of Eltham, and on the xii. night in the hall was made a goodly castel, wonderously set out, and in it certeyn ladies and knightes, and when the kyng and quene were set, in came other knightes, and assailed the castel where many a good strype was geven, and at the last the assaylantes were beaten awaye. And then issued out knightes and ladies out of the castel, whiche ladyes were ryche and straungely disguysed, for all their apparell was in braydes of Gold, fret with moving spangels, sylver and gilt, set on Crymosyn satyn lose and not fastened: the mens apparell of the same suyte made like Julis of Hungary, and the ladyes heddes and bodies were after the fassion of Amsterdam, and when the daunsyng was done, the banquet was served in of ii. C. dyshes, with great plenty to every body.

This yere was the new league betwene the kyng and the Frenche kyng openly proclaymed thorough the citie of London with a trompet. This yere also, Margaret quene of the Scottes, wife to James the iiii. slayn at Bramston the v. yere of the kyng, and elder syster to the kyng, after the death of her late husbande maried Archiball Douglas erle of Angus, without the kyng her brothers assent, or the counsail of Scotland, for the whiche he was not well content. But after

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after that, there fell such a strife betwene the lordes of Scotland, that she and her husband like banished persones came into England, and wrote to the kyng for mercy and comfort. The kyng ever enclyned to mercy, sent theim apparell, vessell and all thynges necessary, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knewe farther of his pleasure: And so they laye still at Harbotell, and the quene was there delivered of a faire lady called Margaret, and all the countrey were commaunded by the kyng to do them pleasure.

This yere the xviii. of February, at Grenewiche was borne a faire princes and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

This yere died the kyng of Arragon father to the quene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequy in the Cathedrall churche of Paules.

THE EIGHT YERE.

YE have harde the last yere how the quene of Scottes with her husband was come for succour into England, and laye at Harbottell in Northumberland, tyl the kynges pleasure was to send for them. So he, lyke a natural brother sent for her and her husband to come to hys courte for their solace. For the whiche kyndnes the erle Humbly thanked the kyng, and promised to geve his attendaunce on the quene his wife to the court: wherupon the kyng sent William blacknal esquier, clerke of his Spycery with sylver vessell, plate and other thynges necessary for the conveyaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate convenient. And when she was ready to departe, she asked for her husbande, but he was departed into Scotland, and left her alone, nothing remembring his promes, which sodeyn departyng muche made her to muse: Howbeit, the lordes of Englande greatly encouraged her to kepe her promyse with the kynge her brother: and so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, and in every toune she was well receaved, and so on the iii. day of May she made her entry into London, riding on a white palfrey (which the quene of England had sent to her) behind sir Thomas par richely besene, and with great company of lordes and ladies, she roade

roade thorough the citie to Baynardes castel, and from thence she was conveighed to Grenewiche, and there received joyously of the kyng, the quene, the Frenche quene her syster, and highly was she feasted. And when the kyng hearde that the Erle of Angus her husbande was departed, he saied, it was done like a Scot. This Quene sometyme was at the courte, and sometyme at Baynardes castell, and so she continued in Englande all this yere.

The kyng for the honoure of hys syster, the xix. and xx. day of Maye prepared ii. solempne dates of Justes, and the kyng him selfe, and the duke of Suffolke, the erle of Essex, and Nicholas Carew esquyer, toke on them to aunswere al commers. The apparel of them and their horses was blacke velvet, covered al over with braunches of hony suckels of fine flat gold of dammaske, of lose worke, every lefe of the braunche moving, the embroudery was very connyng and sumpteous. On the kyng was attending in one suyte on horsebacke, the lorde Marques dorset, the erle of Surrey, the lord Burgainy, the lord Hastinges, sir Jhon pechy, the lord Ferreys, sir William Fitzwilliam, and xii. other knightes, all these were in frockes of blewe velvet, garded with ryche clothe of golde, and their horse trappers of blew velvet, frynged with golde : And on foote were xl. persons all in blew satyn, garded with clothe of golde. And so they entered the fielde with trompettes, dronslades and other mynstrelsey.

Then in came the counterpart, richely appareled, to the number of xii. and on that daye every man did well, but the kyng did best, and so was adjudged, and so at night they ceassed, and came to supper.

The kyng, the next day and his company were appareiled horse and al in purple velvet, set ful of leaves of clothe of gold, engrailed with fyne flat golde of dammaske, embroudered like to Rose leves, and every lefe fastened to other with pointes of dammaske golde, and on al their borders were letters of gold, bullion. And on the kyng wayted v. lordes xiiii. knightes in frockes of yelow velvet, garded and bound with riche clothe of gold, and xxx. gentelmen were in like apparell on fote, and xl. officers in yelow satyn edged with clothe of gold : thus with great triumphe thei entred the fielde. Then the cuntrepartie entred, al clothed and barded in white satyn, traversed with clothe of golde richely. This day was many a great stripe geven.

The

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The kyng and sir William kyngston ranne together, whiche sir William was a strong and a tall knight, and yet the kyng by strength overthrew hym to the ground. And after that the kyng and his aides had perfourmed their courses, they ranne volant at al commers, whiche was a plesaunt sight to se. And when night approched, they al disarmed them, and went to the quenes chamber, where was a great banket for the welcome of the quene of Scottes.

This moneth of May were sent out of England xii. C. masons and Carpenters, and iii. hundred labourers to the citie of Torney: for the kyng and his counsaill, consideryng that the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, and therfore it was determined that there should be builded a Castell to chastice the citie if they rebelled, and to minishe the garrison. And therfore these worckemen were sent thether, whiche this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

This yere, by the Cardinall, were all men called to accompt that had the occupiyng of the kynges money in the warres or els where, not to every mans contentacion, for some were found in arterages, and some saved them selfes by policy and brybory, and waxed ryche, and some Innocentes were punished. And for a truthe he so punished perjury with open punyshment and open papers weryng, that in his tyme it was lesse used. He punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and maintenaunce in their countreis, that the pore men lyved quietly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonement: but he him self and his servauntes, whiche were well punished therfore. The pore people perceaved that he punished the ryche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexacion. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceaved their untrue surmises and fayned complaintes for the moste parte, he then wexed wery of hearyng their causes, and ordeined by the kynges commission, diverse under courtes to here complaintes by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the white hall, the other before the kynges Almoner doctor Stokesley, a man that had more learnyng then descrecion to be a judge. The third was kept in the lord treasourers chamber beside the starre chamber, and the iiii. at the rolles at after none. These courtes were greatly haunted for a tyme, but at the last the people

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people perceaved that much delay was used in these courtes, and few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the law, then every man was wery of them and resorted to the common law.

In the moneth of october came into Englande Mathew Byshop of Sedonon and Cardinall, called commonly the Cardinal of Swyshes, from the Emperour Maximilian. This Cardinal was a wise man and of great boldenes, and was wel entreteined in the court and of the kyng. And at his contemplacion and for old love, the kyng lent to the Emperour Maximilian a great summe of money: wherof the company of Friscobalde, and Antony Caveler Genevoy undertoke thexchange, but they paied not the Emperour at his day, not withstanding thei had receaved the money of the kyng. This Friscobald and Antony Caveler by meanes of rewardes, geven to great lordes of the counsail borowed of the king xxx. M.ł. and had long daies for the paiment: but Friscobald was shortely consumed, and Anthony Caveler could not be sene, and so the kyng was not payd at his daies, and many English merchauntes were by these men undone, for they spent liberally of every mans goodes.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, and on the xii. night, according to the old custome, he and the quene came into the hal, and when they were set, and the quene of Scottes also, there entred in to the hall a Gardeyn artificiall, called the Gardeyn of *Esperance*. This Gardeyn was towred at every corner, and railed with railes gilt, all the bankes were set with floures artificial of silke and gold, the leves cut of grene sattyn, so that they semed very floures. In the middest of this Gardeyn was a piller of antique worke, al gold set with perle and stone, and on the toppe of the piller, which was vi. square, was a lover or an arche embowed, crouned with gold: within whiche stode a bushe of Roses red and white, al of sylke and golde, and a bushe of Pomegranates of like stuf. In this gardeyn walked vi. knightes and vi. ladyes rychely appareyled, and then they discended and daunsed many goodly daunses, and so ascended the gardeyn agayne, and were conveighed out of the hal, and then the kyng was served of a great banket. After this Christmas, the kyng exercysed hym selfe muche in hawkyng.

In this ceason, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungers

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straungers sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche favoure with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie: And the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the pore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any living: And most of all the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. For amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London called Willyamson, whiche bought two stockedoves in Chepe, and as he was about to paye for them, a Frencheman toke them oute of his hande, and said they were no meate for a Carpenter: well said the Englysheman I have bought them and now payed for them, and therfore I will have them, naye saied the Frencheman I wil have them for my lorde the Ambassadour, and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englisheman knave, and went a waye with the stockdoves. The straungers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, and surmysed a complainte againste the poore carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lorde Maire, and said so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kynges counsail, that the kynges commaundement was layde on hym. And when syr Jhon Baker knyght and other worshipful persones sued to the Ambassadour for him, he aunswered, by the body of God that the Englyshe knave shoulde lose his lyfe, for he saied no Englysheman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other aunswere had they none.

The pryde of Frenchemen.

Also a Frencheman that had slayne a man, should abjure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodeynly came a greate sorte of Frenchemen about hym, and one of them said to the Constable that led him, syr is this crosse the price to kyll an Englisheman. The Constable was somwhat astonied and aunswered not. Then said another Frencheman, on that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, thys saiyng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not all onely oppressors of the Englyshemen, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mannes wyfe in Lombarde strete to come to his chambre with her husbandes plate, whyche thynge she dyd. After when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded his wyfe, but aunswere was made he shoulde not have her, then he demaunded

demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswere was made that he shoulde neither have plate nor wyfe. And when he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Guylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englisheman, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her from her husbande in his chamber. This mocke was muche noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the English mennes hartes, that at the last it brast oute. For amongest other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Jhon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a byll before Easter, desyryng doctor Standiche at hys Sermon at saint Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too move the Mayre and Aldermen, to take parte with the comminaltie agaynste the straungers: The Doctor aunswered that it became not hym too move anye suche thinge in a Sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in sainct Mary Spittell, a doctor in Devinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, howe miserably the common artificers lyved, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyldren, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyvynge in maner. And also howe the Englyshe marchauntes could have no utteraunce, for the marchaunt straungers brynge in all Silkes, clothes of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron, and suche other marchaundyse, that no man almoste byeth of an Englyshman. And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englyshe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englyshmen that aventure outwarde can have no lyvyng: Whiche thynges saied Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsaill, and cannot be heard. And farther sayed he, the straungers compasse the cytie rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Jhons strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and Sainct Katherines, and forstall the market, so that no good thynge for them commeth to the market: Whiche is the cause that Englyshe men want and sterve, and they lyve habundauntly in great pleasure. Wherefore sayed Lyncolne master Doctor, syth you were borne in London, and se the oppression of the straungers, and the great misery of your awne natyve countrey, exhorte all the cytezens to joyne in one against these straungers, raveners and

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and destroyers of your countrey. Master doctor hearynge this, saied he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncolne hadde declared, yes sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Duchemen bryng over Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, girdels, with pointes, sadelles and painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishemen might have some worke and lyvynge by it. And besyde this, they growe into suche a multitude that it is to be looked upon, for I sawe on a Sondaye this Lent vi. C. straungers shotyng at the Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make suche a gathering to their common bore, that every botcher wil holde plee with the citie of London: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, and so receaved Lincolnes byll and studied for his purpose. Then Lyncoln very joyous of hys enterpryce went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and dayly excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Tuesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to hym was brought a pitifull byll, and red in this wyse. To all you the worshypfull lordes and masters of the cytie that will take compassion over the pore people your neighbours, and also of the greate importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof proceadeth the extreme povertie too all the kynges subjectes that inhabite within this cytie and suburbes of the same, for so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the livynge from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby povertie is so muche encreased that every man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes men be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: Wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse muste be of the commons, knyt and unite to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greveth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre the sayed alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cælum cæli domino, terram autem dedit*

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dedit filiis hominum, and upon this text he intreated, that this lande was geven too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them selfes, and to hurte and greve aliens for the common weale. And upon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fyght for their countrey, and ever he subtellie moved the people to rebelle against the straungers, and breake the kynges peace, nothynge regardynge the league betwene prynces and the kynges honoure. Of thys Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynste straungers. And as the devell woulde, the Sunday after at Grenewyche in the kynges gallery was Fraunces de Bard, whiche as you hearde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could have no remedy, and with hym were Domyngo, Anthony Caveler, and many mo straungers, and there they talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wyfe, saiyng that if they had the Mayres wyfe of London, they would kepe her : syr Thomas sayed, Sirs you have to muche favour in England. There were diverse Englishe merchauntes by, and hearde them laugh and were not content, in so muche as one William bolt a Mercer sayed, wel you whoreson Lombardes, you rejoyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye have a daye at you, come when it wyll, and that saiynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and evell disposed people sayed, they woulde be revenged on the merchaunte straungers, aswell as on the artificers straungers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng removed to hys maner of Rychemonde.

THE IX. YERE.

UPON this rumour the xxviii. daye of Aprill, diverse younge men of the citie assauted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were striken, and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Mayre sent diverse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diverse other, some to one counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodeynly was a commen secret rumour, and no man could

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could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, in so muche as diverse straungers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsail, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chauncelour, sent for Jhon Rest Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsayl of the citie, and demaunded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode, to whome he aunswered that it was wel and in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinall, it is informed us that your young and ryotous people wyll ryse and distresse the straungiers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Mayre, and I trust so to governe them that the kynges peace shalbe observed, and that I dare undertake yf I and my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel said the Cardinal, go home and wisely forsee this matter, for and yf any suche thing be, you may shortly prevent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at iiii. of the clocke at after none on May even, and demaunded of the officers what they harde, diverse of them aunswered that the voyce of the people was so, and had ben so ii. or iii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethren to the Guylde hall in great hast, and almost vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to them by Master broke the recorder how that the kynges counsail had reported to them that the comminaltie that night would ryse, and distresse al the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the citie of London: the Aldermen aunswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayd that it was wel done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder, it were best that a substancial watche were set of honest persons, housholders, whiche might withstand the evell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was evell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tel who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and every man to shut in hys doores, and to kepe hys servauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinal before viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsayll at his place, commaunded that in no wyse watche shoulde be kept, but that every man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys servauntes tyl vii. of the clocke of the mornynge: with

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with whiche commaundement, the sayde Rycharde brooke sergeaunt at the lawe and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late undershrife of London, and then of the kynges counsaill, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement, of the kynges counsayl. Then in all hast, every Aldermen sent to his warde that no man should styrre after ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut, and hys servauntes within tyll vii. of the clocke in the mornynge. After this commaundement, syr Jhon Mondy Alderman came from his warde, and founde two young men in Chepe plaiynge at Buckerels, and a great company of young men lokynge on them for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leave, and the one younge man asked hym why? and then he sayd thou shalt know, and toke hym by the arme to have had him to the counter. Then all the young men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at every doore came clubbes and weapons and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. Then more people arose out of every quarter, and oute came servynge men, and water men and Courtiers, and by a xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe vi. or vii. hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came iii. hundreth, whiche wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake up the counteryes, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtynge of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamacion in the kynges name, but nothynge was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow sainct Nycholas Shambels, and at saynct Martyns gate, there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyrynge theym to go to their lodgynges: And as they were intreatyng, and had almost brought them to a staye: The people of saynct Martynes threwe oute stones and battes, and hurte dyverse honest persones, that were perswadynge the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade theim holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with master Moore, entreatynge

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entreatynge them, beynge sore hurt, in a fury cryed doune with them. Then all the misruled persons ranne to the doores and wyndowes of saynct Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete, and lefte fewe houses unspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlynge into Cornehill by Leaden hal, to the house of one Mutuas a Frencheman or Pycardy borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, were they pyckpursses, or howe evell disposicion soever they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyverse Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: and al thei were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst medle with them, wherfore he was sore hatet, and yf the people had found hym in their fury, they would have striken of his head: but when they found hym not, the water men, and certeyn young priestes that were there fell to riflynge: some ranne to Blanchechapelton, and brake the straungers houses, and threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: This from x. or xi. of the clocke, continued these ryotous people, durynge whiche tyme a knight called syr Thomas parr, in great hast went to the Cardinall and tolde him of thys ryot, which incontinent strengthened his house with men and ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Richemond, and made the report much more then it was: Wherfore the king hastely sent to London, and was truly advertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceassed, and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued, syr Richard Cholmeley knight, Lieutenaunt of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, and shot into the citie, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wyl apered. About iii. of the clocke, these ryotous persons severed and went to their places of resorte, and by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the heddes of the citie, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of iii. C. some fled, and specially the watermen and priestes, and servyng men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyve of the clocke, the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court, and diverse noble men: but or they came, all the ryot was ceased, and many taken as you have heard.

Then

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Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of docter Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Towre, and so was Jhon Lyncoln: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the iiii. day of May was an Oyer and determiner at London before the Mayre, the duke of Norffolke, the erle of Surrey and other. The citie thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slayn in Chepe, in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once have the citezens in my daungier: and the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil, wherfore he came into the citie with xiii. C. men in harneys to kepe the Oyer and determiner. And upon examinacion it could never be proved of any metyng, gathering, talking or conventicle at any daye or tyme before that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepensed of any creature saving Lyncoln and never an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamacions were made that no women shoulde come together to bable and talke, but all men should kepe their wyves in their houses. All the stretes that were notable stode ful of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the citezens, whiche greved theim sore: and yf they woulde have bene revenged, the other had had the worsse, for the citezens were ii. C. to one: but lyke true subjectes they suffered paciently.

When the lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in thorough the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of xiii. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and frendes for their chyldren and kynsfolke. Emong the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen and laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were ii. C. lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had broken the truce and league, contrary to the statute of kyng Henry the V. Of this treason diverse were endited, and so for that tyme the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, and the erle of Surrey with ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Mayre, the duke, and the erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and xiii. founde giltye of high treason, and adjuged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, and for execucion wherof, were set up

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up xi. payre of galowes in diverse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leaden hal, and before every counter one, and at Newgate, at s. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishops gate. This sight sore greved the people to se galowes set in the kynges chamber. Then were the prysoners that were judged, brought to the places of execucion, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the lord Edmond haward sonne to the duke of Northfolke, and knight Mershal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore yongelinges in their execucion, and likewise the dukes servauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hange, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the vii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, and two brethren called Bets, and diverse other adjudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lordes, I meant well, for and you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedy it, and many tymes I have complained, and then I was called a busy felow: now our lord have mercy on me. Then all the sayd persons were layd on the hardels, and drawen to the standarde in Chepe, and first was Jhon Lyncoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the kyng to respite execucion. Then the people cried, God save the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayn to warde, and the harnessed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

The xi. daye of Maye the kynge came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London and diverse Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and al ware gounes of black coloure. And when they perceaved the king comming out of his privie chambre into his chambre of presence, they kneled doune, and the recorder sayd: Our most natural, beninge and sovereigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with us of your citie of London for the great ryot late done: we assertein your grace that none of us, nor no honest person were condiscendynge to that enormitie, and yet we, oure wyfes and chyldren every houre lament that your favour shoulde be taken from us, and forasmuche as light and ydle persones were the doers of the same, we moost humbly beseche your grace to have mercy of

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of us for our negligence, and compassion of the offendours for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the kyng, you have highly displeased and offended us, and ye oughte to wayle and be sory for the same, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you never moved to let theim, nor sturred once to fyght with theim, whiche you saye were so small a nombre of light persones, wherefore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wyncke at the matter, but at this tyme we wyll graunt to you neither our favor nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chauncelour, and he shal make you an answer and declare our pleasure, and with this answer the londoners departed and made relacion to the Maior.

The xviii. day of this moneth the quene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kynges charge, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Jewells, plate, tapissry, Arras, Coyne, Horsses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great ryches, albeit she came into Englande with muche povertie, and she entred into Scotland the xiii. daye of Juyn, whome her husband receaved at Berwick : but the Englishemen smally hym regarded. All her charges within the realme, comminge to the courte and returnynge, were of the kynges pursse.

Thursdaye the xxii. day of May the kynge came into Westmynster hall, for whome at the upper ende was set a clothe of estate, and the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, the erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex and Wilshyre, of Surrey, with many lordes and other of the kynges counsaill. The Mayre and Aldermen, and al the chief of the citie were there in their best livery (according as the Cardinall had them apoynted) by ix. of the clock. Then the kynge commaunded that al the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore younglinges and olde false knaves bounde in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, and every one a halter about his neck, to the number of iiii. C. men and xi. women. And when all were come before the kinges presence, the Cardinal sore layed to the Mayre and

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and comminaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that thei had deserved death for their offence: Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned them al. And then the Cardinal gave unto them a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the herers. And when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, and altogether cast up their halters into the hal roffe, so that the king might perceave thei were none of the discretest sorte. Here is to be noted that diverse offenders which were not taken, hering that the king was inclined to mercy came wel appareled to Westmynster, and sodeynly stryped them into their shertes with halters, and came in emong the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kynges pardon, by the whiche doyng, it was well knowen that one Jhon Gelson yoman of the Croune, was the first that began to spoyle, and exhorted other to dooe the same, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This compaignie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the galowes within the citee taken doune, and many a good praier sayed for the kyng, and the citezens toke more hede to their servauntes.

In June the kyng had with hym diverse Ambassadors, for solace of whom he prepared a costly Justes, he hymself and xii. agaynst the duke of Suffolk and other xii. his base and bard was the one halfe clothe of silver, and the other halfe blacke Tinsell. On the silver was a curious lose worke of white velvet embraudered with Golde, cut on the Silver and every cut engrayled with golde, so that that side was golde, Silver and velvet. On the blacke tynsell syde was blacke velvet enbroudered with golde and cut, and every cut was engrayled wtth flat gold of Damaske. The base and barde wer broudered with greate letters of massy golde Bullion, full of pearles and stones, merveylous riche: al his compaignie wer in like suite, saving that they had no juelles. The kyng had on his hed a ladies sleve full of Diamondes. On the kyng attended gentlemen, Armourers, and other officiers to the nomber of Cxxv. persones all in white Velvet and white Sattyn, horse and harneis for horsemen. Cappes and Hosen for footemen, all white at the kinges cost. This royally

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royally the kyng and his compaignie with his waiters came to the tiltes ende.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke with the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Essex and Surrey, and viii. other of his bande, in bardes and bases of white Velvet and crimosin sattin losenged, set full of letters of *C. M.* of gold, for Charles and Mary, and thei toke the other ende of the tilt. Then the Trompettes blewe, and the Kyng and the Duke ranne fiercely together, and brake many speres, and so did all the other, that it was harde to saie who did best: but when the courses were ronne, they ranne volant one at another, so that bothe by the reporte of sir Edwarde Gylforde Master of the Armury, and also of the Judges and Heraldes, at these Justes wer broken five hundred and sixe speres: and then the kyng the same night made to the Ambassadors a sumpteous banket, with many ridelles and muche pastyme.

After this greate triumphe, the king appointed his gestes for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte, the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officiers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adjourned, and because that this malady continued from July to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymself ever with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmas, willyng to have no resort for feare of infeccion: but muche lamented the nombre of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde part, the Sweate was so fervent and infeccious.

THE X. YERE.

The x. yere.

IN the beginning of this yere, Trinite terme was begon at Oxenford, where it continued but one day, and was again adjourned to Westminster. This yere came to Calice from Pope Leo, a legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardianall Campeius, for to exhorte

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exhorte the kyng to make warre on the Turke. And likewyse the sayed Leo sent iii. other legates furth, at that tyme for the said purpose, one into Fraunce, another into Spain, and the third into Germany.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe, that there was commyng a legate into Englande, whiche should have a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambicion was never satisfied, caused a Bishoppe and certain Docters to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that yf he would have the Popes purpose to take any effecte in Englande, he should in any wyse sende in poste to Rome, to have the saied Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to be joyned in commission with hym, whiche thing was doen, (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and five daies, the bull was broughte to Calice, Duryng whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, redde cloth to clothe his servauntes, whiche at their commyng to Calice, were but meanely appareled. And when all thinges were ready, he passed the sea and landed at Dover, and so kept furthe his jorney toward London. At every toune as thei passed, he was received with Procession, and accompaignied with all the Lordes and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Black heth, ther met hym the Duke of Norffolke, with a great nomber of prelates, knightes and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tente of clothe of golde, where he shifted himself into a robe of a Cardinall, edged with Ermyns, and so toke his Moyle ridyng toward London.

The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carriages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelve mulettes with emptie Cofers covered with redde, whiche twelve Mulettes wer led through London, emongest the Mulettes of Campeius, which were but eight and so these xx. Mulettes passed through the stretes, as though thei had been full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulettes brake from her keper, and overthrewe the Chestes, and overturned twoo or three other Mulettes cariages, whiche fell with suche a violence, that diverse of theim unlocked, and out of some fell olde Hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted Fleshe, peces of Breade, Egges and muche vyle baggage: at whiche sighte the Boyes cryed, see, see my Lorde Legates treasure,

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treasure, and so the Muleters wer asshamed, and tooke up all their stuffe and passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the xxix. day of July the said legate entred the citie, and in Sothwarke met him all the clergie of London, with crosses, sensers and copes and sensed him with great reverence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best liveries stode in the stretes, and hym hyghly honored: to whom sir Thomas More made a brief oracion in the name of the citee. And when he cam to Paules, ther he was received by bishops mitred, and under a canapy entred the churche: whiche canapy his servauntes toke for their fees. And when he had offred, he gave his benediccion to al the people, and toke again his mule, and so was with al his train aforsaid, conveighed to Bathe place, and there rested: where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yorke. And on Sondaie next ensuyng these twoo Cardinalles as legates, toke their barges and came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their crosses two pillers of silver, two litle axes gilte, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the cardinalles hattes borne before them. And when they came to the kynges hall, the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the king royally appareled and accompaignied, met them even as though bothe had come from Rome, and so brought them bothe up into his chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oracion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in twoo articles, one for aide agaynst Gods enemies, and the second for reformacion of the Clergie. And when Masse was doen, they were had to a chamber, and served with lordes and knightes, with muche solempnitie: and after dinner they toke their leave of the kyng and came to London, and rode through the citee together, in greate pompe and glory to their lodgynges.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a legate, he set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testamentes, and hard causes to the great hinderaunce of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bisshopes and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and under colour of reformacion he gat muche treasure, and nothyng was reformed, but came to more mischief: for by example of his pride, priestes and al spiritual persones wexed so proude, that thei ware velvet, and silke, bothe in gounes, jackettes, doblettes,

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doblettes, and shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare themselfes by reason of his aucthorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for feare to bee called heretike, and then thei would make hym smoke or beare a faggot. And the Cardinall hym self was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the kyng: and when he had said Masse he made dukes and erles to serve him of wyne with a say taken, and to holde the bason at the lavatories. Thus the pride and ambicion of the Cardinal and clergie was so high, that in maner al good persons abhorred and disdeined it.

This yere the French kyng wrote to the kyng of England, that if it were his pleasure, he would send an ambassade into England, to common with the kyng and his counsaill for the redemyng of the citee of Turney and other thynges: whiche answered the messenger, that the ambassade of the Frenche kynge should be right hartely welcome to him. And so the French kyng sent into England the lorde Bonevet, hygh Admyrall of Fraunce, and the bishop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors, accompanyed with many noble men, and young freshe galantes of the courte of Fraunce, to the numbre of lxxx. and more, and with them came a great numbre of rascal and pedlers, and Juellers, and brought over hattes and cappes, and diverse merchaundise uncustomed, all under the coloure of the trussery of the Ambassadours.

After that these noble men were landed at Dover, thei were receaved by the nobles and gentelmen of the countrey, and so conveyghed from lodgyng to lodgynge tyll they came to Blackheth, and before them went their cariages and people in great numbre, to the summe of xii. C. one and other, whiche was thought to be to many for an Ambassade. These gentlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

Monday the xxvii. day of September, the erle of Surrey hygh Admyrall of Englande, in coate of riche tyssue cut on cloth of silver, on a great courser richely trapped, and a great whistell of gold, set with stones and perle, hangyng at a great and massy chayne baudryck wise, accompanyed with an C. xl. gentlemen, rychely appareled, on goodly horsses came to blackheth, and there amiably receaved the Ambassadors of Fraunce. The young galantes of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in x. or xii. partes very richely to beholde: and so al the Englishmen accoupled them

them selves with the Frenchmen, lovingly together, and so roade to London. After the ii. Admyrals folowed xxiiii. of the Frenche kynges garde whome accompanyed xxiiii. of the kynges garde. And after them a great numbre of arches, to the numbre of iiii. C. And in this order they passed thorough the citie to Taylers hal, and there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, and the remnaunt in marchauntes houses about. When these lordes were in their lodgynges, then the French harder men opened their wares, and made the Taylers hal lyke to the paunde of a marte. At this doynge many an Englishman grudged, but it availed not. The last day of September, the French Ambassadors toke their barge, and came to Grenewiche. The Admyrall was in a goune of cloth of silver raysed, furred with ryche Sables, and al his company almost were in a new fassion garment, called a Shemew, which was in effect a goune cut in the middle. The gentlemen of Fraunce were brought to the kynges presence, wher the bishop of Parys made a solempne oracion: which beyng ended, and aunswer made therto, the kyng highly entreteyned the Admirall and his company, and so dyd all the English lordes and gentelmen. The Ambassadours beyng dayly in counsayl at Grenewiche, the other gentlemen daunced and passed the tyme in the quenes chambre with ladies and gentlewomen. After long counsailing and muche desyring of the French kyng and his counsayll, it was agreed that the citie of Tourney should be delivered to the Frenche kynge, he payenge vi. hundred thousande crounes for the citie, and iiii. hundred thousand crounes for the Castel, the which the kyng had buylded, but it was not fully performed: and also he should pay xxii. M. l. Tournies, the whiche summe the citezens of the citie of Turney ought to the kyng of England for their liberties and fraunchises.

Upon these agrementes to be performed, it was concluded that the citie of Tourney should be delivered to the French kyng. The Frenchemen the soner to come to their purpose, made a pretence of mariage to be had betwene the Dolphyn, sonne and heyre to the Frenche kyng and the lady Mary the kynges daughter, which was agreed upon this condicion, that if they both consented at lawful age, then to be ferme and stable, or els not: for then they were both very young. And so all matters were concluded, and the

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the erle of Worcester and the bishop of Ely apoynted to go into Fraunce for the delivery of the citie of Tourney, and performyng of the other agrementes. And for the sure payment of the summes of money to be payde to the kyng of England upon the sayd agrementes, there were iiii. gentelmen of the realme of Fraunce left in Englande for hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Mounsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Morret. Of the whiche iiii. the ii. fyrst named were of noble blood, but the ii. last were but of meane houses. And because they were young, there was auncient gentelmen, apoynted governours to them.

When all thinges were concluded and sealed, the kyng and all the Ambassadours richely appareled and the ii. legates, roade solemply to the church of sainct Paul from the bishop of Durhams place: and there was made from the West doore to the quere doore of the churche egall with the highest step, a hautepace of tymber of xii. fote broade, that the kyng and the Ambassadors might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sange hygh masse, and had hys cloth of estate of Tyssue: hys Cupboord set with basons all gilt covered: his place was v. steppes high. At the first lavatory, iii. Erles served him, and at the second ii. dukes and a Marques, and with the saye taken, they gave hym wyne, and after water. And when masse was done, the Cardinal Campeius and he gave to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done, doctor Pace the kynges secretory, a man very eloquent, made a goodly Oracion in prayse of peace: and that done, the kyng and all his nobles and Ambassadors went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner the kynge roade agayne to the bishop of Durhams place.

That night the Cardinall of Yorke made to the Ambassadors a solempne banket, and them accompanied many lordes and ladyes of Englande. And when the banket was done, in came vi. mynstrels, richely disguysed, and after them folowed iii. gentelmen in wyde and long gounes of Crymosyn sattyn, every one havyng a cup of golde in their handes, the first cup was ful of Angels and royals, the second had diverse bales of dyce, and the iii. had certayn payres of Cardes. These gentelmen offered to playe at monchaunce,

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monchaunce, and when they had played the length of the first boorde, then the mynstrels blew up, and then entred into the chambre xii. ladyes disguysed, the fyrst was the kyng him selfe and the French quene, the second the duke of Suffolke, the lady Dawbeny, the lord Admirall and the lady Guyldford syr Edward Nevel, and the lady Sentliger, syr Henry Guyldford, and maistres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and maistres Anne Carew, syr Giles Capel, and lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholas Carew, and Anne browne, Frauncis Brian and Elizabeth Blont, Henry Norrys and Anne wotton, Frauncis poynts and Mary fyenes, Arthure poole and Margaret Bruges. On this company attended xii. knightes disguysed, bearing torches all these xxxii. persons disguysed were in one suyte of fyne grene satyn all overcovered with clothe of goldie, under tyed togeither with lases of gold, and mankyng whoodes on their heddes: the ladyes had tyers made of brayders of dammaske gold, with long heres of white gold. All these maskers daunced at one tyme, and after they had daunced, they put of their vizers, and then they were all knowen. The Admyral and lordes of Fraunce hartely thanked the kyng, that it pleased hym to viset them with such disport and then the kyng and his company were bankered, and had high chere, and then they departed every man to hys lodgynge.

The viii. day of October at Grenewiche was song a solempne masse by the bishop of Durham, and after masse doctor Tunstal master of the Rolles, which after was bushop of London, made an eloquent preposicion in praise of the marriage to be had betwene the Dolphyn and the lady Mary: and all that day were the straungers feasted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rock full of al maner of stones, very artificially made, and on the top stood v. trees, the first an Olive tree, on which hanged a shild of the armes of the church of Rome: the ii. a Pynaple tree, with the armes of the Emperour: the iii. a Rosyer with the armes of England: the iiii. a braunche of Lylies, bearing the armes of Fraunce: and the v. a Pomegranet tree, bearing the armes of Spayn: in token that al these v. potentates were joined togeither in one league against the enemies of Christes faith. In: and upon the middes of the Rock sate a fayre lady, richely appareled with a Dolphin in her lap. In this Rock were ladies and gentelmen, appareled in Crimo-

A pageant.

syn

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syn sattyn, covered over with floures of purple satyn, embroudered on with wrethes of gold knyt together with golden laces, and on every floure a hart of gold moving. The ladies tyer was after the fassion of Inde, with kerchiefes of pleasaunce, hached with fyne gold, and set with letters of Greke in golde of bullion: and the edges of their kerchiefes were garnished with hanging perle, These gentlemen and ladyes sate on the neyther parte of the Rocke, and out of a cave in the said Rock came x. knightes, armed at all poyntes, and faughte together a fayre tournay. And when they were severed and departed, the disguysers dissended from the rock, and daunced a great space: and sodeynly the rocke moved and receaved the disguysers, and ymediatly closed agayn. Then entred a person called Reaport, appareled in Crymosyn satyn full of tonges, sitting on a flyeng horse with wynges and fete of gold called, Pegasus. Thys person in Frenche declared the meaning of the rocke and the trees, and the Tournay.

A banquet.

After this pastyme ended, the kyng and the Ambassadours were served at a bancket with ii. C. and lx. dyshes: and after that a voydee of spyces with lx. spice plates of silver and gilt, as great as men with ease might beare. This nyght the Cupboord in the hall was of xii. stages all of plate of golde and no gilt plate. When that every man had ben plenteously served, the tables were taken up, and the kynge and the quene and all the straungiers departed to their lodginges. After diverse Justes and feastes made, the sayd Ambassadors by the kynge and lordes: Syr Thomas Exmew Mayre of London, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmythes hall, which dynner they highly praysed, it was so well ordred.

And when tyme came, they toke their leave of the kyng, the quene and the kynges counsaill, and delivered into the kynges possession their iiii. hostages as you have harde before: at whiche departing the kyng gave to the Admyral of Fraunce a garnishe of gilt vessel, a payre of covered basons gilt xii. great gilt bolles, iiii. payre of great gilt pottes, a standing cup of gold, garnished with great perle: and to some other also, he gave plate, to some Cheynes of gold, to some riche apparel, and to some greate horses with ryche bardes, so that every gentelman was well rewarded: which liberalitie the straungers much praised: and after that al

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al their trusses were ready they departed toward the sea, and toke ship and landed at Boleyn.

Sone after their departing, the erle of Worcester, beyng the kynges chamberlayn. The bishop of Ely, the lord of s. Jhons, syr Nicholas vaux, syr Jhon pechy, syr Thomas bulleyn as Ambassadours from the kyng of Englande, accompanyed with lxx. knightes and Gentelmen and yomen, to the number of iiii. C. and above passed the sea with some stormes, and came to Calys, and passed thorough Picardy with great and kynde entreteynment in all places, till they came to Parys, where they were nobly receaved, every man matched with a lyke pere: and after they were brought to the Frenche kynges presence, where the bishop of Ely made a solempne oracion, as concerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with suche a bolde spirite that the Frenchemen muche praysed his audacitie.

The conclusion of this peace was this, that Henry king of England, Fraunces kyng of Frenchemen, and Charles kynge of Castel had sworne a perpetuall peace, duryng their lyves. And yf it shoulde happen any of the iii. to vyolate the league in any poynt and to move warre: then the other ii. should joyne together, and make warre agaynst the violater or breaker of the peace.

After al thinges concluded, the French king made a banket house in the bastill of Parys betwene iiii. olde walles: this house was covered with coardes strayned by craft, and every coarde was wound aboute with boxe, and so layd crosse wise one over a nother in fret, and at the metynges a great knop gilt with gold foyle: Over their coardes was streyned wollen clothes of light blew: this roofe was lxxx. fote high, and on every side iii. stages high: al the pillers of the stages were covered with antique workes, and the brestes of the stages curiously wrought with armes, fynettes and braunches: the roofe was set full of starres gilt furnished with glasses betwene the fretes: and in this house was ii. C. xii. braunches gilt hanged, and on every braunche a great numbere of lightes of white waxe: and divers sortes of maskes were shewed that night: and also there was shewed at every side of the palace a great Cupboord of massive plate of muche greatnesse, and ever the French kyng welcommed the lordes and Ambassadours with good countenaunce. After diverse feastes, justes and bankettes made to the Englishe

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Englishe Ambassadours the byshop of Ely with syr Thomas Bulleyn and sir Rychard Weston were sent by the Frenche kyng to Konyack to see the dolphyn, where they were well receaved, and to theim was shewed a fayre young chylde: and when they had sene hym, they departed. The fame went that the Frenche kyng at that tyme had no sonne, but that this was but a colour of the Frenche kyng, howbeit it was proved otherwise after.

In this ceason the Earle of Worcettre, and with hym sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Jhon Pechy, syr Edward Belknap with many other knightes toke their leave of the Frenche kyng, and roade to Tourney, where they were well received. Then began the Capitaynes and the souldiours to mourne, knowyng that the toune should be yelded to the Frenche kyng, and many a young gentelman, and many a tall yoman wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayd earle discharged sir Richarde Jernyngham of his office of capitayne and commaunded every man to be obedient to the kynges pleasure and to prepare to returne into England. The eight day of February the lord Chatilion came nere to the citie of Tournay with xxi. hundreth men in harneys. The erle of Worcettre sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he sheued hym his commission, whiche was to receive the citie of Tourney. Then sir Edward Belknap desired hym too sende his commission to the earle of Worcettre, whiche he refused to do, saiyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayd sir Edwarde Belknap you must understande that we have a commission from the kyng our master to deliver you the citie at a day appointed: wherfore we must shewe the kyng of Englande both your commission that you had aucthoritie to receive it from the Frenche kyng, and also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes shall confesse that you receive the citie as a gift, and not rendred as a right to the kyng your master, or els be you sure that the citie shall not be delivered. Then the lorde Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleved: And so dayly were great messages sent to the citie from him to the erle of Worcetter, and aunswers were sent of the Englishe part. But when the day approched he had full aunswere that he must deliver his commission and also seale the indenture, or els the Englishmen would not put him in possession of the

The maner of the delyvery of Tournay.

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the toune, for their commission was otherwise. The Frenche capitaines perceaving that yf they disagreed at the daye, that doubtes might folowe, wherfore they sent their commission and sealed their indenture and sent it likewyse in the mornyng, and came forward with their banners displayed: whereof hering the earle, he sent woord that the cytie was neither yelded nor gotten, but delivered for confederacion of mariage, and therfore thei should not entre with banners displaied. Then were the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedy but to rolle up their standerdes and banners. And when thei came to the gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemply red openly: and then the Frenchemen entred with drumslades and minstrelsy without any banner: and then to *Monsire Castileon* was delivered the Casteil, and there he ordeined watche and warde in every part. Thus was the cytie of Turnay delivered the eight daie of February in the x. yere of the reigne of the kyng, and many a tall yoman that lacked livyng fel to robbyng, which would not labor after their returne.

Duryng this tyme remayned in the Frenche court Nicholas Carew Fraunces Brian and diverse other of the young gentelmen of England and they with the Frenche kyng roade daily disguysed through Parys, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentelmen came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentelwomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here.

After the kynges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay delivered to the Frenchemen upon the condicions aforesaid, the hostages that were here lefte for the paiment of the great somes and performaunce of the condicions comprised in the league (of the whiche one was that if the mariage toke none effect, then the citie of Turnay should be redelivered upon repaiment of the same some) the saied hostages knewe not in what case they stode, but when they knewe it, they were very hevy and sorowful: howbeit, they dissimuled

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dissimuled the matter in the best wise thei could. The kyng used familiarly these foure hostages, and on the vii. daie of Marche prepared a disguilyng, and caused his great chamber at Grenewyche to be staged and great lightes to be set on pillers that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe was covered with blewe satyn set full of presses of fyne gold and flowers : and under was written, *Iammes*, the meanyng wherof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed. Into this chamber came the kyng and the quene with the hostages, and there was a goodly commedy of *Plautus* plaied, and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke velvet bordred about with gold, with hoopes from the wast dounward, and sleves ruffed and plited at the elbowe and plain in the middes, full of cuttes, plucked out at every cutte with fyne Camericke, and tired like to the Egipcians very richely. And when these ladyes had passed aboute the place, in came eight Noble personages in long gounes of taffeta set with flowers of golde bullion, and under that apparell cotes of blacke velvet enbroudered with golde all to cut, and plucked out with cuttes of white sarcenet, and every man had buskyns of blacke velvet full of agglettes of golde. Then the eight men daunced with the eight ladies all beyng viserd, and sodainly the men cast of their large gounes, and then their under apparell was sene. And when al was done, every lorde and lady put of their visers, and then it was knowen that the kyng and the duke of Suffolk and the French quene were there whiche were present at the plaie tyme.

A justes.

The viii. daie of Marche was a solempne Justes, the kyng hymself and eight young gentelmen based and barded in blacke Velvet embroudered with gold, against the duke of Suffolk and eight of his bande al in white satyn with droppes of golde. And that daie they all ranne exceadyng well, whiche the straungers highly commended.

In the ende of Marche the kyng sent for all the yomen of garde that were come from Tourney, and after many good wordes geven to them, he graunted to them iiii. d. the day without attendaunce, except thei were specially commaunded, and yet for all this the comminaltie said that the kyng was evil counsailed to geve away the citie of Tourney, because the mainteinyng of a garrison there should have norished and brought up men and yonger brethren in

in feates of warre to the great strength and defence of the realme.

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This yere the xii. daie of February died the Emperour Maximilian, for whome the kyng caused a solempne Obsequy to be done at Paules churche, all the nobles of the realme and knightes of the Gartier beyng present, of whiche ordre the saied Emperour was one.

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IN the beginnyng of this yere, the kyng with all the knightes of his ordre beyng in Englande, roade on double horsses, with the henxmen folowing the kyng, from Colbroke to Winsore in gorgious apparel, and there he kept with greate solempnitie the feast of S. George, and dined in the hall. And the byshop of Wynchester prelate of the ordre sat at the boordes ende alone. The kyng was solemply served and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronacion. All thynges were plenteous to straungers that resorted thether. At the masse of Requiem was offered the banner and other hachementes of honor belonging to Maximilian the Emperor late deceased. After this feast ended, the kyng came to Richemond, and so to Grenewyche, and laie all Maie.

In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly communed together of the kynges gentlenes and liberalitie to all persones: by the whiche they perceived that certain young men in his privie chamber, not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that they forgat themselfes: Whiche thynges although the king of his gentle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reproved it: yet the kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, and therfore thei altogether came to the king, beseching him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen them of his counsaill, both for the maintenaunce of his honor, and for the defence of all thyng that might blemishe the same: wherfore if they sawe any about hym misuse theimselfes, he committed it to their reformacion. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lorde chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who

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who yet liveth, and therfore shall not at this time be named) with diverse other also of the privy chamber, whiche had bene in the Frenche court, and banyshed them the courte for diverse consideracions, laiyng nothing particulerly to their charges. And they that had offices were commaunded to go to their offices: whiche discharge out of the courte greved sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges privie chamber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Jernyngham, sir Richard Weston and sir Willyam Kyngston: and diverse officers were chaunged in al places.

Then sir Jhon Pechy was made deputie of Caleis, and sir Rychard Wingfeld therof discharged, and Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaunded to go thether, whiche was sore to hym displeasant. These young minions which was thus severed from the kyng, had bene in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his courte, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they were so high in love with the Frenche court, wherefore their fall was litle moned emong wise men.

This yere in the moneth of June was elected to be Emperor Charles kyng of Castel, and nephew to the quene, by the whole assent of the electors of thempire: Although the Frenche kyng sent his great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high majestie of the Empire: yet his ambassador and great Master of his houshold called Gonffier lord of Boisy, and brother to Willyam Gonfier lorde Bonevet Admirall of Fraunce, whiche was Ambassadour of England the last yere as you have hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect. The kyng which had sent doctor Pace his secretory for the avauncement of his nephewe the kyng of Castell to the dignitie imperiall, because he had the duchie of Ostrik and many other seigniories in Almain, was very joyous of this eleccion, and caused a solempne Masse to be song at Paules the viii. daie of July: at whiche Masse, was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckyngham, of Norffolk and Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, Fraunce, Venice and Scotlande. And after Masse was done, the quier sang *Te deum*, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, and

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and that night were solempne fiers made through London, and great plenty of wine geven by Italiens, duchemen and Spaniardes for these newes.

This sommer the quene desired the kyng to bryng to her manour of Havering in the Bower in Essex, the gentelmen of Fraunce being hostages. And for their welcommyng she purveyed all thynges in the moste liberallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng suche a sumpteous banket that the kyng thanked her hartely, and the straungers gave it great prayse. The king liyng there did shote, hunte, and ronne dayly with the hostages to their greate joye.

This yere in September the kyng laie at his manour of Newhall in Essex, otherwyse called *Beaulieu*, where the kynge had newly buylded a costly mancion, and there to welcome the quene and the Lordes, and the Frenche gentelmen, he made to them a sumpteous banket, and all a long the chamber sat a ladie and a lorde, or a knight, which were plenteously served. And after the banket ended, with noise of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white berdes, and long and large garmentes of blewe satyn pauned with Sipres, poudered with spangles of Bullion golde, and they daunsed with ladies sadly, and communed not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaved theimselfes sadly. Wherfore the quene plucked of their visors, and then appered the duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the lord Burgainy, sir Rychard Wyngfeld, sir Robert Wyngfelde, sir Rychard Weston, sir Willyam Kyngston: all these were somwhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers. When they were departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of fraunce, and the erle of Devonshire with sixe other young Gentelmen entered the chamber, the whiche sixe were all in yelowe Sattyn, hosen, shoen, and cappes, and sixe other were in like maner in Grene: the yelowe satyn was freted with silver of damaske, and so was the grene very rychely to behold: and then every Masker toke a ladie and daunsed: and when they had daunsed and commoned a great while, their visers were taken of, and the ladies knewe them, and there the kyng gave many broches and proper giftes to the ladies. And after this done, the quene made a banket to the kyng and his lordes and the other straungers.

In

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In the moneth of November, the kyng came from Lambeth to Westminster hal, and so to the starre chamber, and there were before him the Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Haward, sir Mathewe Broune, sir Willyam Bulmer, and Jhon Skot of Camerwell, for diverse riottes, misdemeanours and offences, and especially the kyng rebuked sir Willyam Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kynges servaunt sworne, refused the kynges service, and became servaunt to the duke of Buckingham, saiyng: that he would none of his servauntes should hang on another mannes sleve, and that he was aswel able to maintein him as the duke of Buckyngham, and that what might be thought by his departyng, and what myght bee supposed by the dukes retaining, he would not then declare. The knight kneled still on his knees criyng the kyng mercie, and never a noble man there durst entreate for him, the king was so highly displeased with him. Yet at the last when other matters were hard, the kyng moved with pitie forgave the saied sir Willyam his offence, saiyng, that we will that none of our servauntes shalbe long to any other person, but to us, nor we wil not that our subjectes repine or grudge at suche as we favoure, for our pleasure we will have in that cace as us liketh, for one we wil favor now and another at suche tyme as us shall like: and therefore sir Willyam if you serve us hartely, you shall not be forgotten, and for this tyme we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lorde Edmond Haward, and sir Mathew Browne their offences, which were indicted of riottes, and mainteinaunce of bearynges of diverse misdoers within the countie of Surrey: but the lorde Ogle humbly beseched the kyng of his mercie, to whom he aunswered. Sir your matter concerneth murder of our subjecte, whiche greate offence is not onely to us but to God, and therfore we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the waie he made James Yarfford Maior of the Cytie of London knyght, and so he with all his counsaill came to Lambeth.

The iiii. gentelmen hostages of Fraunce, daily resorted to the courte and had great chere, and were well enterteined, and every tyme they moved, stirred and required the kyng to passe the Sea, and to mete with the Frenche kyng their Master, whom they preised hyghly, affirming that if the kyng

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kyng and he might once familierly common together, that there should suche a constant love rise and encrease betwene theim, whiche afterward should never faile. This request was often tymes hard and litle regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of February it was agreed that the kyng in person, should passe the sea to his castell and lordshyp of Guisnes, and there in Maie next comming betwene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete. When this was fully concluded, the kyng wrote letters to all suche lordes, ladies, gentelmen and Gentelwomen as should geve their attendaunce on hym and the quene: which incontinent put theimselfes in a redines after the moste costliest fashion, for the furniture of the same metyng.

Then were sent to Guysnes under the rule of sir Edwarde Belknap three M. artificers, which buylded out of the yearth on the playn before the castle of Guysnes, the most goodliest palaice of timber that ever was wrought in the same place, and so curiously garnished without and within. Beside this, provisions were made within the realme of England and in Flaunders for vitaill, wine and all other thynges necessary for the same. And yet beside all this Orleaunce kyng of armes of Fraunce came into the court of England and made proclamacion, that the kyng of England and the French kyng, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes with xviii. aydes in June next ensuyng, should abyde all commers beyng gentelmen, at the tylt, and torney, and at bariers, and lyke proclamacion was made by Clarenseaux kyng of Armes of Englande, in the Courte of Fraunce, and in the courte of Bourgoyne, and in diverse other Courtes and places in Almain, and Italy. For furnyshyng of Justes, there was devised a tilte and all thynges necessary for that enterprice, in a goodly playn betwene Guysnes and Arde.

Duryng the tyme of these preparacions, newes were brought to the king that Charles his nephew elected Emperor of Almain would shortely depart out of Spain by sea, and come by Englande to go into Germany to receive his firste Croune at Acon. Wherefore the kyng caused great provisions to be made at every haven, for the receivyng of his welbeloved nephew and frend, and daily provisions were made on al sides, for these noble metynges of so hygh princes: and especially the quene of Englande and

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and the Lady dowager of Fraunce, made greate coste on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

The first daie of February being Candelmas even, as the kyng and quene were come from evensong at their manour of Grenewiche, before the quenes chamber there blewe a trompet sodainly, and then entred into the Quenes chamber foure Gentelmen appareled in long and large garmentes of blewe damaske bordered with gold, and brought with them a tricke waggon, in the which sat a lady richely apareled with a canapy over her hed, and on the iiii. corners of the waggon were iiii. hed peces called Armites, every pece beyng of a sundery device : the saied lady put up a bill to the kyng, the effecte wherof was that the iiii. gentelmen present would for the love of their ladies answer al commers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be apointed : whiche daie was apointed at shrofetide next ensuing. At whiche daie the foresaid gentelmen valiantly accomplished their enterprice, with greate laudes of the kyng the quene and ladies.

In this yere the kyng beyng infourmed, that his realme of Irelande was out of ordre, discharged the Erle of Kildare of his office of deputie, and therunto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was appoynted therle of Surrey lorde Admiral, to whom the Cardinal did not owe the best favour. Wherfore the said erle of Surrey in the beginning of Aprill, tooke leave of the kyng, and the duke of Norffolke his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diverse gentlemen, that had bene in the garrison of Tourney, and one hundred yomen of the kynges garde, and other to the nomber of a thousande menne. Where he by hys manhod and wisedome, brought the erle of Desmonde and diverse other rebelles, to good conformitie and ordre : and there he continued in greate hardnes two yere and more, in whiche space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wild Iryshe.

When it was concluded that the kynges of Englande and Fraunce should mete, as you have hard, then bothe the kynges committed the ordre and maner of their metyng, and howe many daies they should mete, and what prehemi-nence eche should geve to other, to the Cardinall of Yorke, whiche to set all thynges in a certaintie, made an instrument, the very true tenour whereof ensueth.

Thomas Archebyshop of Yorke and Cardinal. &c. Albeit that

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that by the treatie and metyng of the right high and right puyssaunt princes, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of Englande, and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande my sovereigne lorde: And Fraunces by the same grace kyng of Fraunce ryght Christened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of October, the yere of our lorde a thousand five hundred and xviii. be emongest other thynges concluded and accorded, that the same metyng shalbe in place indifferent, and not subject to any of the saied prynces. Nevertheles, wee consideryng the honoure, profyte, and utilitie, that shall redound by the entervieu of the said two princes, and not onely to the saied twoo prynces, their realmes and subjectes, but also to all christendom: after declaracion thereupon had with the saied princes. Also considering that the saied illustre kyng of Englande my sovereigne lorde, in passing the sea with his retinue, shall sustaine great costes and expences, and dispose hymselfe to great labours and daungers, leving his realme and puissaunce for certain tyme, we have thought and estemed that he should not be wholy satisfied to thonor and dignitie of the same, right illustre kyng of England my sovereigne lorde, and should not have in regarde condigne of his labours and dangiers, if the said entervew or meting after the first treatie, should be in place indifferent, wherfore it is that we desiring to weye egally thonour and dignitie of the said twoo kynges by vertue and power of the commissions to us geven, of whom the tenours shalbe hereafter declared: we have made, declared, and ordeined certaine articles accepted and approved, by the same princes respectively, which thei will observe, and by this presentes we make, declare and ordein as foloweth.

And first we declare and ordeine, that before thende of the moneth of Maie next comming, the saied illustre kyng of Englande shall come personally to the castell of Guisnes, with his bedfelowe the Quene, and his sister the dowares of Fraunce: and semblaby the right Christened kyng of Fraunce, shall come in persone to his Castle of Arde, with the Quene and his mother: and some daie, houre, and tyme, within iiii. daies at the moste, after the ende of Maie, that shalbe assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie. The said kyng of England shal issue out of his castle of Guisnes halfe a mile long, without that he shall

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shall issue out of the limites of his demain of Guisnes, and shal come towardes the said castle of Arde: and there within the territorie of the saied castle of Guisnes, he shall rest in some place not fortified nor walled, and nere the limites of Fraunce, that the saied commissioners shall assigne (as above said) and the saied right christened kyng, partyng from his castle of Arde shal come towardes the saied kyng of England the same daie, place tyme and houre, that shall tary hym within the demain of Guisnes as is saied. In the whiche shall not be set nor dressed any pavilions or tentes, and there the saied two kynges beyng on horsebacke, with their retinue shall se the one the other, and salute eche other, and speake together familiarly, and common in that sorte and maner, and so long as shall seme to theim good. And after the said salutacion and communicacion finished for that time, the saied illustre kyng of England shal returne to his castle of Guisnes, and the saied right christened kyng to his castle of Arde.

Item, for asmuche that wee thynke to bee satisfied touchyng the laboures daungiers and honoure of the saied kyng of England my sovereigne Lorde of so muche, that the saied right Christened Kynge at the firste speakyng, he shall come forwarde unto and within his territorie of Guisnes, we will kepe the honour of the said kynges, and therfore declare and ordeine, that on the morowe after the firste entervew, the same kynges shall mete together in some place indifferent betwene Arde and Guysnes that shalbe assigned by the saied Commissioners, and after the salutacion made on the one and the other partie, the saied right illustre kyng of Englande shall go to the Castle of Arde, to se, salute, and visite the quene of Fraunce, and also the sister of the said christened kyng, with whom he shall dine prively. And likewise the saied right christened kyng shall go to the Castle of Guysnes, to visite and salute the Quene of Englande, and the dowares of Fraunce, with whome he shall dyne. In the whiche place the saied princes shalbe received famyliarly and amiably, unto mutuall love, and also to the honoure of the saied princes.

Item, as the saied serene prynces of Englande and Fraunce, be lyke in force corporall, beautie, and gyfte of nature ryght experte and havyng knowlege in the arte militant, right chevalrous in armes, and in the flower and vygor of youth, whereby

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whereby semed to us a ryght assembly, that for to decore and illustre the same assembly, and to shewe their forces in armes, they shall take counsail and dispose themselfes to do some fayre feate of armes, aswel on fote as on horsebacke, against all commers. We declare and ordein, that the place where shalbee the saied fyght and feate of armes, shalbee chosen betwene Guysnes and Arde, and assygned by the commissioners, of the one and the other partie. And for a suertie of the persones of the saied kynges and their compaignie, the saied place shalbe apparreled, diched, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie, by equall nomber of men of armes, respectively committed and deputed that to do. And duryng the tyme of the saied justes and feates of warre, the same kynges and quenes with their retinue, shal se eche other familiarly, and converse and speake together: And every daie towardes the evenyng, after the Justes, triumphes, bankettes, and familiar communycacions dooen, the saied kynges with their retinue shall returne into their Castles, that is to saie, the kyng of England into his castle of Guysnes, the said right christened kyng into his Castle of Arde, and thus they shal do dayly, duryng the saied fight and feate of armes.

Item, wee declare and ordeine, that when the same kyng of Englande and the Quene his bedfelowe, and the Dowares of Fraunce his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of the saied ryght christened kyng, the superioritie and preheminence shalbe geven to the saied kyng of Englande, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to their retinue respectively, duryng the tyme that they shall tary and be there: and semblaby when the saied right Christened kyng, and the quene his bedfelow and his right illustre Ladie and mother, with their retinue shall come to the territorie and entrie of the saied illustre kyng of Englande, the superioritie and preheminence shalbe geven to the said right christened kyng, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to his mother, and to their retinue duryng the tyme that they shall continue and abide there.

Item, for so muche as the Castle and places where the saied entervewe shalbe, be so litle and narowe that if entrie and license to come thether be geven to all them that would go thether, diverse anoyances, troubles and impechementes should folowe, wherfore it is so that we Cardinall abovesaied, by these presentes

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presentes declare and ordeine, that none of the retinue of the saied Kynges, Quenes, or other lordes and nobles, of what estate qualitie or condicion that he or they be, shal not come to the said assemble with more greater nomber of persones or horse, then shalbee wrytten by letters, subscribed by the saied kynges, the whiche shall conteigne the estates and condicions of the persones, aswell men as women, and nombre of servauntes and horse, except by the common consent and license of the saied kynges.

Item, forasmuche as peradventure it shall come that the said Princes, lordes, gentelmen, and houshold servauntes, shall se and converse together familiarly, to the ende that it may engender betwene them an amitie more fyrme and stable, for that cause and that more suerly and agreably they may bee together, aswel by daie as by night, without any daunger or feare, whiche we desire to provide: we declare and ordein that two gentelmen with sufficient compaignie of equall and lyke nomber, be committed and depute, respectively by the saied kynges for the kepyng and suretie of the waies and watches, that shalbe made continually duryng the assembly of the saied kynges.

The whiche gentelmen with their compaignies shall ordein and depute explorators and spies in the valeis, forestes, woodes, townes, borowes, villages, castels, passages and waies, and other places daungerous and suspect: from tyme to tyme, and houre to houre, aswell towardes Flaunders, as Picardie, Artoys and Englande, to exployte and watche there. And if any be founde suspect, theim to repulse and take away, to thende that not onely the saied prynces, their gentlemen and houshold servauntes, maie surely and without feare visite the one the other as saied is, but also those that shall bryng vitailes necessary to the saied assembly, maie without daunger, trouble, impechement or noysaunce go and come: The whiche explorators shalbe bounden every daie in the mornyng and evenyng, to make reporte to the saied prynces or to their saied counsailours respectively, of that which they have found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordein, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approche nerer then twoo journeyes, to the place where the saied entervewe shalbe, except the retinew and men of warre that bee committed and deputed to kepe Bullein and Caleis,

Caleis, and that the same men of warre nor none other duryng the assembly of the saied princes, shal not presume to come nerer, onlesse by the consent, accorde, and license of the saied princes.

Item, we Cardinall above saied, by expresse aucthoritie and power to us geven, by these presentes, bynde the saied princes to do, fulfill, and accomplyshe, all and every the thynges above saied here in conteined.

Item, we declare and ordeine that eche of the saied kynges on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approve all and every the Chapiters and Articles above saied, by their Letters Patentes signed with their handes. And by the same lettres of ratificacion they shalbe bounden to accomplish with good faith and in worde of a kyng, all and every the thynges abovesaied: the whiche letters made, subscribed and sealed, as is saied, they shal geve the one the other, and shall chaunge in the citie of London, within one moneth next after the daie of these presentes. Made the twelve of Marche, the yere of our lorde a M.CCCCC.xix.

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THE most noble and puisant kyng, kyng Henry the VIII. king of England and of Fraunce, the yere of our Lord, a M. five hundred and xx. and of his bodely age xxix. yere, and the xxii. daie of April began the xii. yere of his reigne over the realme of Englande, and halowed the daie of sainct George at the maner royal of Grenewych with the noble knightes of the Garter in robes of the order.

The kyng intending and persevering in purpose to mete with Frances the Frenche kyng greate and ryche provisions were made, wherfore the noble Kyng and the Quene with all the noble courte, removed the twentie and one daie of May beyng on Mondaie, from their maner of Grenewyche, towardes the Sea side, and so on the Fryday beyng the twentie and five daie of May, arrived at the cytie of Cantorbury, intendyng there to kepe his Pentecoste.

Sone after whiche comming to Cantorbury, tidynges were brought that Charles Emperor electe, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England, wherfore officers of the kyng were sent

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sent with great diligence to the Castle and toune of Dover, to be there in a redines against the arrivall of the Emperor.

The reverent father in God my lorde Cardinall, came to the toune of Dover in hast with a nobell repayre, abidyng the commyng of the Emperour, whiche Emperour, the Saterdaye beyng the xxvi. daie of Maii arrived with all his navie of shippes royall on the coast of Kent, directe to the toune or porte of Hieth the saied daie by noone, where he was hayled by the noble knight sir William Fitzwilliam, vice admirall of Englande, with syxe of the kynges shippes well furnished, whiche laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Dover and Caleis, at the costes and charges of the kyng of Englande. Calmenes of the wether and lacke of wynde, caused that the Emperour might not so sone take lande at the porte of Dover, as he would have dooen. Notwithstandyng towardes the even he departed from his shyppes, and entered into his boate commyng towardes the lande, where in his comming to the lande: on the sea the reverent father lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate, mete and received hym with suche reverence, as to so noble a Prince apperteigned. Thus landed the Emperour Charles, under the clothe of his estate of the blacke Egle all splaied on riche clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym, were many noble menne, and many fayre Ladyes of his bloud as princes and princesses, and one ladie as chiefe to be noted, was the princes Avinion with many other nobles whiche landed with hym in high and sumptuous maner and greate riches in their apparell: greate joye made the people of Englande to see the Emperour, and more to see the benyng maner and mekenes of so high a prince.

Then when the Emperour thus had taken lande, the reverente father lorde Cardynall was as conduite to the same noble Emperour from the shore of Dover unto the castell ther: then were all persons chered the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departyng of Themperour to the lande from hys navy, the apparell of every ship then shewed, as flagges, banners, stremers and targetes, then the mighty ordinaunce of every of them brake oute by force of fyer as though the see had brente, marvelous was the noyse of the gonnes.

The Emperour beyng thus in the castell of Dover, wyth hast tidynges came to the kyng where as he was at Cantorbury

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bury, who hasted hym towards the noble Emperour. And so came ridyng early in the morning to the castell of Dover, within which castell the kyng alighted: the Emperour hering the king to be come, came out of his chamber to mete with the kyng, and so mete with him on the stayres or he could come up, wher eche embraced other right lovyngly: then the kyng brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as ther communyng was of gladnes.

Sone after, these twoo noble princes on the Whitsonday early in the morening toke their horse and rode to the Cytee of Cantorbury, the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost but specially to see the quene of England his aunte was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of Englande and the quene wyth her beautiful trayne of ladies received and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperour, whose person was by the kyng conveighed to a faire and pleasant chamber where the sayde Emperour apparelled hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of the sayde Emperour aswell of lordes as ladyes were lodged, aswell as there myght be wyth joye and muche gladnes, and there in Cantorbury sojorned the Emperour and all hys trayne wyth the kyng, untill the Thursdaye in the same weke.

The last daye of May beyng Thursday, the Emperour toke leave of the kyng and of all the ladyes, and gave great thankes, and so rode to Sandewiche, and there toke his shippes, the wynd to hym was likynge, whereby he sayled into Flaunders.

Then the same daye, the kyng of Englande made saile from the porte of Dover and with noble apparaile landed at Calys at the hower of xi. of the clock, and wyth hym the quene and ladyes and many nobles of the realme. And so was the kyng received into the Checker and there rested: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Caleys from the Frenche court, to se the kyng and to salute hym, which were of his grace, princely entretayned.

Mondaye the iiii. daye of June the kynges grace with all the nobles aswell the quene with her trayne of ladyes as other, with al the whole nomber of nobles removed from Calis to his lordship royall of Guisnes into the most noble and royal lodgynge before sene, for it was a palays, the palays was quadrant, and every quadrant of the same palays was

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iii. C. xxviii. foote longe of a syse, whiche was in compasse xiii. C. and xii. foote aboute. This palayce was sette on stages by great connynge and sumpteous woorke. At the enterynge into the palays before the gate, on the playne grene was buylded a fountayne of enbowed worke, gylte with fine golde, and bice, ingrayled with anticke workes, the olde God of wyne called Baccus birlyng the wyne, whiche by the conduyctes in therth ranne to al people plenteously with red, white, and claret wyne, over whose hedde was writen in letters of Romayn in gold, *faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.*

On the other hand or syde of the gate, was set a pyller which was of auncient Romayne woorke borne with iiii. Lyons of golde, the pyllers wrapped in a wrethe of golde curiously wroughte and intrayled, and on the sommet of the sayde pyller stode an image of the blynde God Cupide wyth his bowe and arrowes of love redy by his semynge, to Stryke the younge people to love.

The forgate of the same palays or place with great and mighty masonry by sight was arched, with a tower on every syde of the same port rered by great crafte, and inbattayled was the gate and tower, and in the fenestres and wyndowes were images resemblynge men of warre redy to caste greate stones: Also the same gate or tower was set with compassed images of auncient Prynces, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled woorke, rychely lymned wyth golde and Albyn colours, and well and warly was made over the gate loups, and enforced wyth battaylementes and in the same gate a lodge for the porter: whyche there appered and other, sumpteously apparayled like unto kynges officers.

By the same gate, all people passed into a large courte fayre and beautifull, for in this court appered much of the outward beutie of this place for from the firste water table to the raysyng or resun pieces, was bay wyndowes on every syde myxed with clere Stories, curiously glased, the postes or monyelles of every wyndow was gylte. Thus the outward parte of the place lumyned the eyes of the beholders, by reason of the sumptuous woorke. Also the tower of the gate as semed, was buylded by greate masonry, and by great engyne of mans wit, for the sundry countenaunces of every image that their appered, some shotyng, sum castyng, sume ready to strike, and firynge of gonnes whiche shewed very honorably.

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honorably. Also all the sayd quadrantes, bayes and edifices, were royally entrayled, as farre as unto the same court appartayned. And dyrecte against the gate was devised a hallpas, and at thentry of the staier was images of sore and terrible countenaunces, all armed in curious woorke of argentyne. The bay of the same halpas pendant by crafte of trimmer and under the trimmer, anticke images of gold envyroned with verdour of Oliffes cast in compas, mounsteryng their countenaunces towardes the enteryng of the palaice. The staier of the saied halpas was caste of passage by the wentes of brode steppes, so that from the firste foote or lowest steppe, a persone might without payn goo unto the highest place of the same halpas.

On every hande was there chamber doores and enterynges into the chambers of the same palais, which were long and large, and well proporcioned, to receive light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber wer syled and covered wyth cloth of Silke, of the most faire and quicke invencion that before that tyme was seen, for the grounde was white ingrailed, Inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundery newe castes, that the same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned golde and the roses in lossenges: that in the same rofe, were in kyndly course, furnished so to mannes sight that no livyng creature might but joye, in the beholdyng therof, for from the jawe pece of the saied selyng: whiche pece was guilte with fine Golde, were woorkes in pann paled, all the walles to the crest encounteryng the clere stories, the same creste which was of large depenes, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast and wrought with more cunnyng then I can write, all which workes and overages were gilte: and to set it the more to the glory, the florishyng Bise was comparable to the riche Ammell.

Also at the foote of the same palaice was another crest all of fine sette gold whereon hanged riche and marveilous clothes of Arras wroughte of golde and silke, compassed of many auncient stories, with whiche clothes of Arras, every wall and chamber were hanged, and all wyndowes so richely covered, that it passed all other sightes before seen. In every chamber in place convenient were clothes of estate, greate and large of clothe of golde, of Tissue, and riche embroudery,

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embroudery, with Chaiers covered with like cloth, with pomelles of fine gold: and great Cushyns of riche woorke of the Turkey makynge, nothynge lacked of honourable furnishement.

Also to the same palais was rered a Chapell with two closettes, the quire of the saied Chapell filed with clothe of golde, and thereon frete ingrailed bent clothes of Silke, all was then silke and golde. The aultars of this Chapell were hanged with riche revesture of cloth of gold of Tissue, embroudered with pearles. Over the high aultare was hanged a riche Canaby of merveilous greatnes, the aultare was appareled with five paire of Candelstickes of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on the same halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of age all gold: And all the Coopes and Vestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for all the copes and Vestementes wer but of one pece, so woven for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with redde Roses purled with fine golde: the Orfrys sette with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and deskes of his Chapell was hanged with right Clothe of golde, and three ryche greate Crosses were there ready to be borne at festival times, and basyns and Sensers, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewetes, holy Water vessels, and other ornamentes all of gold.

Also in the fyrst Closet was a traverse for the kynges person of cloth of golde: And within that the kynges place and Chaire, with Cusshins of clothe of golde: before the traverse was an altare of presence, whiche Aultare was adourned with clothe of brouderie, and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in goldesmithes woorke of fine golde. On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stoode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an Image of the Trinitee, an Image of oure Lady, and twelve other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelstickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes, the saied Closet was hanged with Tappettes embraudered with riche worke fret with pearles and stones, the roffe of the same Closet was siled with woorke of Inmouled, gylte with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The seconde Closette was for the quenes persone, in whiche

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whiche was a traverse of riche clothe of golde, the aultare so richely appareled, that there lacked neither Pearles nor Stones of riches: on the aultar were twelve greate Images of golde, the Closet hanged with clothe of gold all other jewelles Missall, I suppose never suche like were seen, and the rooffe of the same closet was filed with like worke that the kynges closet was as is before rehersed.

And from this palaice or place into the mightie and stronge fortresse and Castle royall of Guisnes, was a galery for the secrete passage of the kynges persone into a secret lodgyng within the same Castle the more for the kynges ease.

Also to this palaice was all houses of offices, that to suche an honourable Courte should apperteigne, that is to wete, the lord Chaumberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Thresourer of the houshold, for the Comptroller and office of grene Clothe, Wardroppes, Juell house, and office of houshold service, as Ewery, Pantrie, Seller, Buttery, Spicery, pitcher house, Larder and Poultrie, and all other offices large and faire that the officers might and did marveiles, as in the craft of viandes, by Ovens, harthes, reredorses, Chimnayes, Ranges, and such instrumentes that there was ordained. In this Palaice as ye have hearde, was the kynges grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the toune of Guysnes was litle, and that all the noble menne might not there be lodged, thei sette up tentes in the felde, to the nomber of twentie and eight hundred sundery lodgynges, whiche was a goodly sighte. Thus was the kyng in hys Palais royall at Guysnes.

FRAUNCES the Frenche kyng was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the toune of Arde, whiche was prepared for his commynge, many tentes, hales and pavilions, were set and pight in the felde. On the French partie also, there was at the same toune of Arde buylded the Frenche kynges lodgyng full well, but not finished, muche was the provisions in Picardy on every part through all. The French kyng commaunded his lodgyng to be made, a litle out of the toune of Arde in the territorie of an old castle, whiche by the war of old time had been beaten. On the same place was edified a house of solas and sporte, of large and mightie compas, which was chiefly sustained by a great mightie maste, wherby the greate ropes and

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and takell strained, the same maste was staied. All the roffe of the same house hong on the same Maste, and with takell was strained and borne, by the supporters of the same Maste or tree, the colours of the same was all blewe, set with starres of gold foyle, and the Orbes of the heavens by the crafte of colours in the roffe, were curiosly wrought in maner like the sky, or firmamen, and a cresant strained sumdell towardes the toune of Arde, this cresant was covered with frettes and knottes made of Ive busshes, and boxe braunches, and other thynges that longest would be grene for pleasure.

In this tyme the reverent father lorde Thomas Wolsay Cardinall and legate a Latere as the kynges high ambassador rode with noble repaire of lordes, gentlemen and prelates to the toune of Arde, to the French courte where of the Frenche kyng, the same lord Cardinall was highly enterteined. Of the noblenes of this Cardinall, the Frenchemen made bokes, shewyng the triumphant doynges of the Cardinalles royaltie. The nomber of the gentlemen, knightes and lordes al in crimosyn velvet, with the marveilous nomber of chaines of golde, the great Horse, Mules, Coursers, and cariages, that there were, which went before the Cardinalles commyng into Arde with sumters and cofers. Of his great Crosses and Pillers borne, the pillowe bere or cace broudered, the two mantelles, with other the Ceremoniall Offices, with greate and honourable nomber of bishoppes gevyng their attendaunce, the mightie and great nomber of servauntes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet who so redeth of the Frenche boke, shall finde wonderfully set furthe.

The kyng of England beeyng at the Castle of Guysnes in the newe palais, many noble men of the Frenche court resorted to his grace, to se the kyng of England and the quene, and to salute them : who of the kyng of Englande were well entertained.

When the lord Cardinall had sojourned at Arde in the Frence court by the space of twoo daies, and the high and urgent princely causes in counsaill declared, the lord Cardinal toke his leave of the French kyng and of all the Frenche courte, and repaired unto the Castle of Guysnes, where he founde the kyng of England his sovereigne Lorde. And the same kyng by his letters patentes, had geven full power and aucthoritie to the same lord Cardinall, concernyng all matters

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matters to bee debated, touchyng the kyng and the realme, and also gave unto the same Cardinall, full strenght, power, and aucthoritie, to affirme and confirme, bynde, and unbynde, what soever shoulde be in question, betwene hym and the French kyng, as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently.

When the lordes of the Frenche counsaill, sawe the high and greate aucthoritie that the Cardinall had, thei shewed it unto the French kyng, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of like power and aucthoritie, that the kyng of Englande had geven unto the said lord Cardinall: the same power and aucthoritie had the same reverent father, geven to hym by Fraunces the French kyng, and affirmed by the counsaill royall of Fraunce: Then hastely was sent to the kyng of Englande the Frenche kynges patent, for the lorde Cardinall saied humbly to the Frenche kyng, that he would no suche power receive, without the consent of the kynge of England his sovereigne Lord: but when the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, had seen and vewed the French kynges Patent, and well considered, then he sent the same Patent of power to the lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the lord Cardinall the power received with much gladnes. It was highly estemed and taken for great love that the Frenche kyng had geven so greate power to the kynge of Englandes subject.

Thursday the seventh day of June, in the vale of Andren, within the lordeship royall of Guysnes, before daie was set and pight a royall rich tent, all of clothe of gold, and riche embroudery of the kyng of Englandes, and diverse other hales and pavilions: the same riche tente of gold was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly contrived and made, that ever before was seen, and a presence of the kynges estate, with two chayers and riche cusshyns therein: the ground was spred with Carpettes, of newe Turkey makyn, all of beautie.

But here is to be noted, that in this meane season in all the feldes about, bothe nigh and far, wer many of the French gard, ridyng and beholdyng the maner of the Englishe parte, some of the kynges gard, and some of the duke of Burbons gard, and some of the Admirall of Fraunces Gard, whiche slily marked the conveighaunce of the people of Englande. At the houre of metyng appoynted

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appoynted, the Lordes of England set their people and servauntes in good arraie of battaill, in a plain felde directly before the castle of Guysnes. The kyng of England commaunded that his Garde should bee set in the breste of the battaill, or bend of footemen, and so it was doen. This battaill of footemen conducted themselfes so in ordre, that from the firste to the laste, never a person of the footemen brake his place or arraie, but kept theimselfes so well, that never servyng men theimselfes better demeaned. The servynge men thus set in ordre in the felde, on the left hande of the kyng of Englande, somewhat towarde the Marres, longe while thus abidyng, in whych tyme the Castle of Guysnes shot a warnyng pece to the toune of Arde, and in lykewyse the Toune of Arde gave warnynge to the Castle of Guysnes.

Now was gathered the Frenche Kynges repaire, and by the Lord Marshall and Constable of Fraunce, the Lordes, and gentlemen were set in ordre: thus bothe these two high and mightie princes, intendyng to mete and assemble, many woordes and tales, and suspect demeaninges arose in the Englishe partie, for the great love that we the English men had to our Prince, caused the ignoraunt people that wer not worthy to know the pretence of princes, to suspecte the Frenche partie, and the more because that Monsire Chatelion a Lord of Fraunce, in rigorous and cruell maner, threwe doune foure pennons of white and grene which were set up by Richarde Gibson, by commaundement from the kynge for the suer marke or metyng place of the twoo kynges, in what grounde they shoulde encounter, wordes rose betwene Monsire Chatelion and Richarde Gibson, as farre as became for that deede, but at the commaundement of the Earle Marshall for that tyme, which was the noble Earle of Essex, the Kynge of Englandes cosyn, that wronge by us Englishemenne was paciently suffered, thus from tyme to tyme, and watche to watche, and vewe to vewe, the houre drewe nere, that was by bothe the Princes appoynted, of metyng or encountre.

Wherefore the kyng of Englande oure sovereigne Lorde, with all the Court of nobles of England mounted on horsebacke, and marched towardes the valey of Andern in honourable

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able ordre, all Gentle menne, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the Kynge and bishoppes also, the Dukes, Marques and Earles, gave attendaunce next the Kynge. He were muche wyse that coulde have tolde or shewed of the riches of apparell that was emongest the Lordes and Gentlemenne of Englande, Clothe of Golde, Clothe of Silver, Velvettes, Tinsins, Sattins embroudered, and Crymosyn Sattens: The marveilous threasor of Golde that was worne in Chaynes and Baudericke, so greate, so weightie, some so manifolde, some in Colers of S. greate, that the Golde was innumerable to my demynge to be summed, of all noble menne, Gentlemenne, Squiers, Knightes, and every honeste Officer of the Kynge was richely appareled, and had Chaynes of Golde, greate and mervelous waightie: what shoulde bee sayed? surely emong the Englishemen lacked no riches, nor beautifull apparell or aray, and alwayes as the Kynge of Englande and hys horsemenne marched, so pace for pace marched the moste goodly battayll or bend of foote men (out of defensable apparell) that ever I trowe before was seen.

The Frenche kyng on his partie marched towardes the encountre with all the ruffelers and gallantes of the Frenche Courte. In which tyme came to the Frenche kyng some reporte, that caused him to tarry, and a light from hys Horse, then the Frenchemen were very doubtfull and in a staye so still rested, untill a Lorde of Fraunce called Monsire Morret, the saied Morret came to the Frenche Kyng, and shewed him the very fidelitie of the kyng of England, whereby the Frenche kynge mounted on horsebacke, and the better couraged, marched towardes the place appoynted of encountre.

Thus in marchyng thone kyng to the other, to the kyng of England came lord George Nevell lorde Aburgheny, and openly saied, sir ye be my kyng and sovereigne, wherefore above all I am bounden to shewe you truthe, and not to let for none, I have been in the Frenche partie, and they be mo in nomber, double so many, as ye bee: with that was the Erle of Shrewesbery Lorde Stewarde ready and saied, sir, whatsoever my Lorde of Burgheny saieth, I my selfe have been there, and the Frenchemenne bee more in feare of you and youre subjectes, then your subjectes bee of them, wherefore saied the Earle, yf I were worthie to geve counsaill, your grace shoulde marche forwarde, so we intende my Lord sayed

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sayed the Kyng: then the Officers of Armes cried on afore, then in shorte while was the kyng on the banke of Andern: then every gentleman as they roade toke his place, and stoode still side by side, their regard or face towardes the vale of Andern.

Then the kyng of England shewed hymselfe somedele forwarde in beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that ever reigned over the Realme of Englande: his grace was apparelled in a garment of Clothe of Silver, of Damaske, ribbed wyth Clothe of Golde, so thicke as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and canteled of very good intaile, of suche shape and makynge, that it was marveilous to beholde. The Courser whiche hys grace roade on, was Trapped in a marveilous vesture of a newe devised fashion, the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wroughte, pounced and sette with anticke worke of Romayne Figures. Attendyng on the kynges grace of Englande, was the Master of his horse, by name Sir Henry Guylford, leadyng the kynges spare horse, the which horse was Trapped in a Mantellet bront and backe place, al of fine golde in Scifers, of device with Tasselles on Cordelles pendaunt, the Sadell was of the same sute and woorke, so was the hedde stall and raynes. After folowed nyne henxce menne, ridyng on Coursers of Naples, the same young Gentlemen were appareled in riche Clothe of Tissue, the Coursers in Harneis of marveilous fashion, scaled in fine Golde in Bullion, and workes subtile more then my sighte coulde contrive, and all the same horse Harneis were sette full of tremblyng spanges that were large and faire. The Lorde Marques Dorset bare the kynges sweard of estate before the kynges grace, the reverent father Lorde Cardinall did hys attendaunce.

Thus in litle tyme, abidyng the commyng of the Frenche kynge and his, the which in shorte tyme came with greate nomber of horsemenne, freshely apparelled, the Frenche Kyng and his retayne, put themselfes in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholdyng every other of bothe nacions, the Frenchemenne mused muche of the battaill of the foote menne, and every of the Frenchemen to other spake of the multitude of the englishe men whiche semed greate, yet were not they so many as the Frenche partie.

When

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When the Frenche kyng had a litle beholden the Englishe men, he put hymself some what before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearynge a naked Swearde upright, the Lorde Amirall of Fraunce, and the Countie Cosmen Galias, Master of the Frenche Kynges horse, and no mo persones gave their attendance in passyng with the Frenche kyng: when it was perceived that the French kynges swearde was borne naked, then the kynge of Englande commaunded the lord Marques Dorset to drawe out the sweard of estate, and beare it up naked in presence, whiche was so doen.

Then up blewe the Trumpettes, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrelles on bothe sides, and the kynges descended doune towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of bothe the nacions and on horsebacke met and embrassed the twoo kynges eache other: then the two kynges alighted, and after embrased with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with swete and goodly woordes of gretyng: and after fewe wordes, these two noble kynges went together into the riche tente of clothe of golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose, thus arme in arme went the Frenche kyng Fraunces the firste of Fraunce, and Henry the eight kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, together passyng with communicacion.

When the two princes were in the tente, before rehersed, the French kyng saied, my dere brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine have I travailed to se you personally, I thinke verely that you esteme me as I am. And that I maye to you be your aide, the realmes and seigniories shewe the might of my persone: Sir said the kyng of England, neyther your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regarde, but the stedfastnes and loyall kepynge of promesse, comprised in Charters betwene you and me: that observed and kepte, I never sawe Prince with my iyen, that might of my harte bee more loved. And for your love I have passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the whiche dooyng now gladdeth me. And then wer the twoo kynges served with a banket, and after mirthe, had communicacion in the Banket tyme, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

The Englishe officers went and ranne with greate pottes of

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of Wyne, and Bolles to the Frenche menne, and them chered the best that might bee, all this season stoode still the noble men of the Englishe partie, and all other, and from their places moved nothyng that thei were appointed unto. And the servyng men in lykewise, not once moved from their ground or standyng, but the Frenchemen sodainly brake, and many of them came into the Englishe partie, speakyng faire, but for all that, the court of Englande and the lordes, kept still their arraie.

After the two kynges had ended the banket, and spice and wyne geven to the Frenchemen, Ipocras was chief drinke of plentie, to all that would drinke. In open sight then came the two kynges, that is to wete: the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of England, out of their tent, by whiche I then well perceived thabiliment royall of the Frenche kyng, his garment was a chemew, of clothe of silver, culpond with clothe of golde, of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the bordours with the Burgon bendes, and over that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple coloure, wrapped about his body traverse, beded from the shulder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold: this said cloke was richely set with pearles and precious stones: this Frenche kyng had on his hed a koyfe of damaske gold set with diamondes, and his courser that he rode on was covered with a trapper of Tissue, broudered with devise, cut in fashion mantel wise, the skirtes were embowed and fret with frised worke, and knit with Cordelles, and buttons tasseled of Turkey makyng, Raines and hedstall, answeryng of like woorke: and verely of his persone the same Fraunces the Frenche kyng, a goodly Prince, stately of countenaunce, mery of chere, broune coloured, great iyes, high nosed, bigge lipped, faire brested and shoulders, small legges, and long fete.

All the nobles of the Frenche courte, were in garmentes of many colours, so that thei were not knowen from the braggery: thus as the two kynges were in communicacion, diverse noble men of England were called to presence. And then the two kynges departed with their compaignie, the kyng of Englande to Guysnes, the Frenche kyng to Arde.

Saterdaie the ix. daie of June in a place within the Englishe pale were set and pight in a felde, called the campe, two trees of much honor the one called the *Aubespine*, and the

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the other called the *Framboister*, whyche is in English the Hathorne, whiche was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the significacion of the Frenche, these twoo trees were mixed one with the other together on a high mountaigne, covered with grene Damaske, the same Trees were artificially wrought resemblyng the nature of the same as nigh as could be, the leaves were grene Damaske, the braunches, bowes, and withered leaves of clothe of gold and all the bodies and armes of the same clothe of golde, laied on tymber, thei were in heigth from the foote to the toppe xxxiiii. foote of assise, in compasse aboute an hundred twentie and nyne foote, and from bough to bough fourtie and three foote: on these trees were flowers and fruites, wrought in kyndly wise with silver and Venice gold, their beautie shewed farre: on the mountaigne was a place harber wise, where the Herrauldes were, the mountaigne was rayled about, and the railes covered with grene Damaske.

The same day the two noble kynges came to the same trees of honor with great triumphe, accompaignied with diverse nobles and yonge valiauntes, before whom were their shildes caried, and after borne aboute the listes, and set on the highest place, shewyng into the feldes, the kynge of Englandes armes within a Gartier, and the French kynges within a Coller of his ordre of sainct Michael, with a close Croune, with a Flower delice in the toppe. The Campe was in length nyne hundred foote and in bredth three hundred and twentie foote, ditched rounde about, savyng at the entrees with broade and depe diches, diverse skaffoldes were rered aboute thys Campe, for the ease of the nobles: on the right side of the felde stood the quene of England, and the quene of Fraunce with many ladies. The same Campe was railed and bard on every ende strongly, there was twoo lodgynges in the entery of the same felde, for the twoo kynges richely adourned, which were unto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed theimselfes and toke their ease: also in the same compasse was two greate Sellers couched full of wyne, whyche was to all men as *largesse* as the fountain.

The cause of the settyng up of the twoo greate shildes with armes Royall, was for joye of the honourable metyng, there to passe the tyme from idlenes, with the exercise of noble

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noble feactes of Armes in honour, articles of Justes, Turnayes, battailes on foote at the Barres and suche victorious feactes were farre in Realmes Proclaimed, whyche caused muche people of noble courage thether to resorte: the twoo kynges as brethren in armes, undertoke to deliver all personages of the same feactes, and to the same twoo kynges by the ordre of armes were sociate, the Duke of Vendosme, the duke of Suffolke, the countie saint Paule, the Marques Dorset, Monsir de Roche, sir William Kyngston, Monsire Brian, sir Richard Garnyngham, Monsire Cavaan, sir Giles Capell, Monsire Bukkal, Master Nicholas Carewe, Monsire Mountafilion, and Master Anthony Knevet, the shieldes of all these nobles were hanged on the trees, with thre tables of the Chalenges, to the which al noble menne that would answere, brought in their shieldes to the same trees, and them presented to the kynges of Armes, and to the Articles wrote with their handes.

Mondaye the xi. daye of June, the twoo Quenes of Englande and of Fraunce came to the campe, wher either saluted other right honorably and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, and specially there was for the quene of England, a Tapet all of pearle called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynes of the same.

At the houre assigned, the two kynges armed at all peces mounted on horsebacke, on them attendyng the noble persones, parteners of the chalenge: the French kyng sette hymself on a Courser barded, covered with Purple sattin, broched with golde, and embraudered with Corbyns fethers round and buckeled, the fether was blacke and hached wyth gold. Corbyn is a Raven, and the firste silable of Corbyn is *Cor*, whiche is a harte, a penne in English, is a fether in Frenche, and signifieth pain, and so it stode, this fether round was endles, the buckels wherewith the fethers wer fastened, betokeneth sothfastnes, thus was the devise, *harte fastened in pain endles, or pain in harte fastened endles*: on hys hed pece he bare a sleve, all the partenars of the Frenche Kynges chalenge were in lyke apparell, every thyng correspondent in clothe of silke embroudered, on his persone were attendant on horsebacke noble persones, and on foote foure persones all appareled in purple sattin.

The kynge of Englande mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper

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trapper of clothe of golde, of Tissue, the Arson mantell wise: And the brunt of the trapper bard fashion, cutte in waves of water woorke, and every wave rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde, this woorke was laied lose on russet velvet, and knitte together with poyntes of golde, which waves signified the Lordeshippe of the narowe sea. All the parteners of the kynges chalenge wer in the same sute, their horses aswel as their persones, attendyng on the kyng on horsebacke wer sir Henry Guilford Master of the kynges horse, sir Jhon Pechie deputie of Caleis, sir Edward Guilford Master of the kynges armye, and Monsire Moret of the Frenche courte appareled al foure in the kynges livery, which was white on the right side, and the left side gold and russet bothe hose and garment. And on him wer attendant on foote sixe honorable knightes, xx. esquiers and officers to the nombre of an C. and xii. persons, of the whiche nomber all the knightes and gentlemen had coates, the one halfe silver, and thother clothe of gold and russet velvet, and the other officers cotes wer of right Sattin of the same coloure, and all their hosen were of the same suite very costly. Thus with honour and noble courage these twoo noble kynges with their compaignies entered into the feld, and them presented unto the Quenes, and after reverence dooen to theim, thei roade rounde aboute the tilte, and so toke their places appoynted, abidynge the answerers, which was for the first the duke Dallencon and tenne men of armes on his bend, on coursers barded, the bardes covered with white and blacke Velvet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bendes of Tynsell sattin, as well their garmentes as their bardes. Then entered on coursers barded twelfe gentlemen of the bende of the lord Admirall of Fraunce, their garmentes and bardes were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple Sattin, after the devise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bendes were entered the feld, thei shewed themselfes about the tilte, and dyd reverence to the quenes, the bend of the Duke Dallencon toke firste place, they made theim prest on bothe sides, the Frenche kyng was the firste that ranne, he did valiauntly and brake speres mightely.

Then ranne the kynge of Englande to *Monsire Graundevile* wyth great vigor, so that the speres brake in the kynges hande to the vantplate all to shevers. And at the second course

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course he gave the sayed *Monsire Graundevile* such a stroke that the charnell of his hedde pece, although the same was very stronge, was broken in suchewise that he might runne no more whereby the kynge wanted three courses.

Then ranne the Duke *de Vandon* and mette his counter parte righte nobely, and brake speres right valiauntly.

The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course and met right valiantly his counter parte and furnished the v. courses right nobly together like good men of armes.

And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiauntly furnished theyr courses, then ranne agayne the ii. noble kynges, who dyd so valiantly that the beholders had great joy, after which courses the heraulde cried the *disarmy* and the trompettes sounded to lodgyng.

Tewsday the xii. day of June at hower convenient the ii. quenes toke their stages and the bende of chalenge in the feld prest to answere and delyver allcommers, to whom came x. gentlemen armed on barded horses of the bend of *Mounsire de Suuyes* ther bardes and apparell clothe of velvet full of friers knottes sylver, after that they had presented unto the quene, then they toke thende of the tilte, and then course after course they ranne to the chalengers right egerly, and the chalengers of the partie of the twoo kynges delivered to the ende of their articles of Justes.

Then entered a xi. men of armes of the bende of Mounsure de Tremoyell, on horses barded with yelowe velvet, losenged with Friers knottes of blacke velvet, and after they had saluted the quenes, they likewyse toke thende of the tilt, and course after course, ranne till they wer delivered of their chalenges of Justes: valiauntly this daye was finished.

Wednesdaie the xiiii. daie of June, the two hardie kynges armed at al peces, entered into the felde right nobly appareled, the French kyng and all hys parteners of chalenge were arraied in purple sattin, broched with gold and purple velvet, embrodered with litle rolles of white satin, wherein was written, *quando*, all bardes and garmentes wer set full of the same, and all the residue where was no rolles, were pondered and sette with the letter ell as thus. L. which in Frenche is she, which was interpreted to be *quando elle*, when she, and ensuyng the devise of the first daye it signifieth together, harte fastened in pain endles, when she.

The kyng of England with all the bende parteners of his chalenge

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chalenge wer likewise on horsebacke, appareled in trappers of losenges russet velvet and clothe of silver of damaske, enbroudered and set in every losenge a braunche of Eglantine of golde, the apparel of the persones wer of the same correspondent to the trapper, this Eglantine tree is swete, plesant and grene, and yf it be kyndely and frendly handeled, and yf it be rudely delt with, it wyll pricke, and he that wyll pull up the whole tree by the top his handes wyll bee hurte: The twoo kynges with their compaignies thus appareled, presented themselfes to the quenes, and so toke the ende of the tilte, then entered into the feld *Monsire Leskeuu* called lorde Liskyn, with hym came a xi. men of armes, hymselfe the xii. on horses barded and richely appareled, and so rode aboute the tilte and saluted the quenes, and toke the ende of the tilte.

Monsire de Leskeuu and his xi. compaignions had their bases and bardes, all blacke clothe of gold of damaske all to cut on blacke sattin, their garmentes had mantell sleves on the left arme, to the wast behynd just to the shulder, whyche was praised for the strangenes.

The Frenche kynge ranne to Mounsire Bewsy Damboyes, one of the bend of Mounsire Liskew, and the kyng of England charged his course and ranne to Mounsire Liskew, and so furnished their courses (as they laie) right nobly and valiauntly in breakyng speres that were strong thus course after course eche with other, his counter partie did right valiantly, but the two Kynges surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnes. This bend thus furnished entred the Marques *de Salons*, and his bend xii. persones all ridyng on coursers barded and apparelled in white Sattin and blacke, broched wyth golde and silver, with cuttes and culpynes muche after tawny and blacke Sattin billottes: and after reverence done to the quenes, toke thend of the tilte. To the Marques *de Salons* ranne the kyng of england, and the kyng of Fraunce to another of the same bend, stil course after course ranne all the noble men til the Marques *de Salons* and his bend were delivered, who bare theim right valiantly: then blew the trumpettes the retraict and the two kinges them unarmed and after departed, the French kyng to Arde and the kyng of England to his castle of Guysnes.

Thursday the xiii. day of June by the noonetyde the two Quenes mette in the camp and toke their places, the people wer

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wer come to behold the honor and to see the two kynges, who al ready armed entred the feld to receive and deliver all men of answere of Justes. Then entred the erle of Devonshyre nere cosyn to the kyng of England, on his bend the lorde Mountague also cosyn to the kyng, lord Harbert, lord Leonard Gray, Master Arthur Poole, Master Fraunces Brian, Master Henry Norres, and iiii. other all richly appareilled, the one side blewe Velvet embrodered with a mans hartburning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot stillyng wyth water on the hart, the other syde was white sattin embrodered with letters of golde. Thys compaignie rode about the tilte and did reverence to the Quenes and so abode to thend of the same. The erle of Devonshire charged his spere, and the French kynge likewise charged his course to met the same erle and ranne so hard together, that both their speres brake, and so mainteined their courses nobly.

Then ranne the king of England to *Mounsire Memorancie*, and hym encountered and bare bothe together and gave great strokes, the kynges moste noble grace never disvisered nor brethed tyll he ranne the fyve courses and delivered his counter partie.

Dukes, Marqueses, Knightes, Esquiers and other ranne as faste as ever thei might, there was none abode when the coursers came, tyl the Earle of Devonshire and his bend were delivered of demaundes.

Then entered the lorde Hawarde sonne to the duke of Northfolke and xi. compaignions apparelled and barded in crimosin Sattin full of flames of golde, the borders ribbed with crimosin Velvet, and wyth much honor and due reverence done to the quenes were brought with Heraldes of armes aboute the tiltes, and so toke the place to theim appointed, right ryche was their apparell. Then ranne the French kyng and encountered the same lord Edmond, they brake bothe their staves valiantly course after course, the encounter ceased not til they had furnished their five courses, so was the lorde Edmonde delyvered by the French kynge.

Then ranne the kinge of Englande to a strong gentleman named Raffe Broke and brake his spere, and ranne course after course tyll he had finished his courses right nobly and lyke a prince of most valiaunce. The resydue ceassed

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ceassed not tyll they had eche delivered other of their chalenge.

Friday the xv. day of June the king of England mounted on a courser royall, his person armed at all peces, his apparell and trapper was the one syde riche cloth of gold, of tissue, the other side of cloth of Tissue of silver, and cloth of golde of Tissue entered ounde the one with the other the ounde is warke wavynge up and doune, and all the borders aswell trapper as other was garded with letters of fine golde, and on the other side that was ounde was set with sygnes called cyfers of fine gold, the which were set with great and oriental perles, the cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wete, God my frend, my realme and I may. This was the devyse and reason thereof, al the kinges bende were apparelled in lyke apparell.

The French king likewise armed at all pointes mounted on a courser royal, al his apparel as wel bardes as garmentes were purple velvet entred the one with the other, embrodered ful of litle bokes of whit sattin, and in the bokes were written *a me*, about the borders of the bardes and the borders of the garmentes, a chayne of blew like Iron resembling the chaine of a wel or prison chayne, which was enterpreted to be *Liber*, a booke, wythin this boke was wrytten as is sayde *a me*, put these two together and it maketh *libera me*, the chayne betokeneth prison or bondes and so maketh together in Englysh, delyver me of bondes, put to the reason, the first day, second day, and third day, of chaunge, for he chaunged but the second day, and it is, *hart fastened in paine endles, when she delivereth me not of bondes*, thus was thinterpretacion made, but whether it wer so in all thynges or not I may not say. Now is ready the two kinges and princes and all their retayne abidynge the aunsweres, and after salutacions made to the Quenes being by their stages, they toke thende of the title.

Ready was Mounsire Florengis and with him xii. men of armes with coursers barded: the bardes and appaarel was crymosyn velvet, tawny velvet, and Plunket velvet, embrodered borderwyse with sheperdes hokes of cloth of silver. When they wyth honour had passed about the title, the reverence to the Quenes and ladies done, the two kynges had their speres ready, then began the rushyng of speres, the kynge of England this day ranne so freshly and so many courses,

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courses, that one of his best coursers was dead that nyght, this band was delyvered man after man of their pretence of Justes.

Then entered bendes of *Mounsire de Rambeurs and Mounsire de Pyns*, eche havyng xi. persones in nomber, the one band all whit Satten enbrodered with blacke, and the other all blacke, dropped with silver droppes and after reverence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilte toke their places. Then began a new encounter hard and sore, many of them bare great strokes of the kinges, to their honor: when these bendes wer delivered, the Heraldes cryed *a lostel* and the princes them disarmed and went to lodgynge.

Saterday the xviii. day of June the French kyng with a small nombre came to the castle of Guisnes about the hour of viii. in the mornynge the king being in his privy chambre, had therof knowledge, who with glad hast went to receyve the same French king, and him met and welcomed in frendly and honorable maner, and after communicacion betwene them had, the king of England departed, leaving the French king ther in the sumpteous place before named. Then was busy the lord chamberlaine, the lord Stewarde and al other officers to make ready feast and chere, it were to longe to reherce al, for suche a feaste and banquet was then made, that of long tyme before the lyke had not bene sene.

The king of England thus departed, he toke his horse and wyth compaignie of noble men rode to Arde, where the French quene and other noblemen him received with muche honour. After which receyving he was by the sayd quene and lordes brought into a chamber hanged with blew velvet embrodered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bedde of like worke, from whence he was conveighed into another chamber, in the which was a kinges state: hys chamber was hanged and siled with cloth of gold, embrodered wyth great cordelles or fryers knottes of cloth of silver. In the same chambre wer two cupbordes on either syde one, furnyshed with great and goodly plate gilt. Noble feasting and chere was there made. After diner the ladies dressed them to daunce, the king the more to glad the quene and the sayde ladies, departed secretly and put hym self with xxix. persons more in maskers apparel, fyrst x. young honorable lordes apparelled after the maner of Ry and Reuel in Kuselande or farre Estland. Fyrst theyr

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theyr hosen of rych gold satten called Aureate satten, overrouled to the kne with skarlet, and on theyr fete, shoen with litle pykes of white nayles after the Estlande guise, theyr doublettes of ryche crimosin velvet and cloth of gold with wide sleves lyned with cloth of gold, over thys they had clokes of crymosyn velvet short, lyned with cloth of gold, on every syde of the clokes ringes of silver with laces of Venice gold, and on their heades thei had hattes made in the toune of Danske and Purses of Seales skynnes, and gyrdles of the same: all these yong lordes had visers, on their faces and their hattes were drawen lyke hatbondes full of Damaske gold.

Other x. lordes were apparelled in long gounes of blewe Satten of the auncient fashion embrodered wyth reasons of golde that sayde *adieu Junesse* fare well youthe: they had typpettes of blacke velvet and hattes hangynge therby, and on their heades, high violette standynge cappes and girdelles of silke, and Purses of cloth of golde after the auncyent maner, with visers, their faces of lyke auncyentie.

Then was ther another compaignie of x. lordes in which maskery the king was hym selfe, apparelled all in longe garmentes of estate all pale riche clothe of golde, all these had rych gounes which were lyned with grene Taffata, and knit with poinctes of Venice silver wherwith the rych clothe together was fastened on their faces visers, and al the berdes were fyne wyer of Duket golde, the Drunslad plaiers and other minstrels arayed in whit, yelow and russet Damaske, these mynstrels blew and played, and so passed throughe the citie of Arde. All these noble revelers came into the French court and put them in presence of the French Quene and ladies: and when the Quene had them beholden, these revelers toke ladies and daunsed, in passynge the tyme right honorably. Then at thinstaunce of the French quene and her ladies these maskers and revellers them disvisered, shewinge them what persons thei wer. Then spices, fruites, jelies and banket viandes wer brought, that done and ended, the king toke his leave of the French quene and ladies and in secret places every one visered him selfe, so that they were unknowen, and so passed through the French court, to whome were brought xxx. horses trapped in Damaske, whyte and yelowe, and so in maskeler passed the toune of Arde, into the felde or campe.

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But now to tell of the feast and riches royall that was in the presence of the French kyng in the newe palaice roiall. This daye the Quene of England received the French king with all honor that was accordynge. In presence lacked neither clothes of estat nor other riches, for to shew the multitude of silver and golde in plate and vessel there that daye, it were impossible: for all noble men were served in gilte vessel, and all other in silver vessel. When the Frenche kinge had wasshed and in hys estate was set, he was ryght honorably served in all thinges nedefull, for Forestes, Parkes, felde, salte seas, Ryvers, Moates and Pondes, wer serched and sought through countreies for the delicacie of viandes, wel was that man rewarded that could bring any thinge of likinge or pleasure: Ryght honorably was the French kynge entertayned, and al other after their degre and state. When the French kyng had wasshed, then the ladies came and profered them selves to daunce, and so dyd in the French kinges presence, which done, the French kynge tooke leave of the Quene and ladies of the court. The reverend father lord Cardinall accompaignied with the Duke of Buckyngham, and other great lordes conducted forward the French Kyng, and in their waye they encountred and met the King of England and his company right in the valy of Anderne apparelled in their Maskinge apparell, whyche gladded the French King. After reverence done, the sayd two Kinges departed for that nyght.

Monday the xviii. daye of June, there blewe such stormes of wind and wether that marvaill was to hear, for whiche hideous tempest som said it was a very pronosticacion of trouble and hatred to come betwene princes.

Tewsday the xix. day of June, the two valiant chalengers kynges at houre convenient entered into the feld armed at al pieces, abiding the comers. Then entered Mounsire Bonival and his bend xiiii. persons in nomber wel armed riding on barded horses, their apparell was black velvet and cloth of golde bilet wyse and fayre plumes on their heades, and after reverence done to the quenes, al ready beyng on their stages they toke their places at the ende of the tilte.

Ready were the speres, the French king charged and ranne course after course and dyd nobly. Also the King of England ranne surely and lost no course til Mounsire Bonivall

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Bonivall and his bende was delivered, the kinges and their retayne did not cease.

Then entered xvii. persones roially armed, the bend of the duke of Burbon ridyng on barded coursers, their apparell was white velvet, tawny and blacke velvet, entred together and all bordered with clothe of golde garnished with plumes of the same colours on their heades, they saluted the quenes and ladies and toke thende of the tilte as they that came to furnyshe thende of the chalenge of Justes.

The kyng of England was ready and strake his horse with the spurres and so fiersly ran to the countre partie that his graund grave gard was lose with the great stroke that the king gave him : course after course the King lost none, but evermore he brake his spere, and so nobly ended his Justes royal, for this daye ended the kyngs great chalenge, and of the king oure sovereygne lordes doynges, all men there that him behelde reported his doynges (so valiante were his factes) evermore in honor to be renoumed. The French King on hys part ran valiantly breaking speares egrely and so wel ended his chalenge of Justes, that he ought ever too bee spoken of. When the bende of the duke of Burbon was of their pretence of chalenge delyvered, they toke leave and departed.

Wednisday, the xx. day of June, the two Kinges began to hold turneyes with al the parteners of their chalenge, armed at al pieces. The French kinge and his bend were apparelled, their bard covered with purple sattyn, broched wyth golde and purple velvet, over al brodered wyth garlondes of friers knottes of whyt satten, and in every garlonde liii. paunse flowers, whiche signified, thinke on Fraunces, to whom he spake was not knowen, goodly and rych was their apparel.

The King of England mounted on a courser of Napels barded and after hym al the fayre bend of his retayne on coursers barded, the bardes and apparell was the one side rych clothe of Tyssue enbrodered, and lined with rich cloth of silver, al the outward part was cutte, the other syde was russet velvet poudered with gold or purpled with gold, enbrodered with a great rocke or mountayne, and a picture of an armed knyght on a courser barded, vauncynge himself upon that hil: then was on the same in ryche enbrodery a picture of a ladie comming out of a cloude strikinge the knight

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knight into the body with an arowe a deadly wounde, and beneth on the borders were written in letters enbrodered that sayde, *in love whoso mounteth, passeth in perill*, this was the devise, so was the kynge of Englande apparelled and al hys parteners of chalenge.

The quene of Fraunce and the quene of Englande were in the places appointed for their honors. The Judges were on stages to marke with the king of Heraldes that was for Fraunce named Roy mon Joy, and for England kyng of armes Garter, to marke and wryte the dedes of noblemen: every person toke a naked sworde in his hande, the trumpettes blewe al waitinge to ride and runne, the French kynge and the king of England together entred, and their bendes, and reverenced the quenes, and rode about the place, and then toke the ende of the felde in their abode.

Now again souned the trumpettes, the Heraldes broughte into the bendes of divers noble and wel armed men on horses barded, that is to wete: First the duke of Alanson and x. men of armes on his bend, the lord Admyrals bend xii. menne of armes, and Mounsire Gywer and ix. in nomber of men of armes all gentlemen, Mounsire Trenoyll wyth xi. men of armes, mounsire Liskew and with him xi. men of armes on his bende, the Marques de Salons and xii. men of armes on hys bend, al on horses barded, and naked swordes in their handes.

Then the two kinges put doune their visers and rode to the encountre valiantly, and for trouth strake and recevied great strokes, but verely the two kinges bet their countre parties to disarming, and then were they departed and that battail ceased: then went other, evermore two for two, till it came to the kynges agayne, at whiche it neded not to put them in remembraunce: for coragiously the two kynges newely foughte with great randon and force, they shewed their vigors and strengthes and did so nobly that their countre parties had none advauntage. When they had thus eche of them fought iiii. battailes, then came Mounsire Liskew with whom the king of England had fought one battayll, and presented the kynge wyth hys horse, which the kyng gentely receyved and for love, incontinent mounted on hym, and ther fought the v. battayle ryght valyantly. Thus was the turney delivered honorably for that day.

Thursday the xx. day of June, the quene of England and the

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the French quene were come to the campe in roialtie like unto their estates, the ii. kynges were in the felde armed and apparelled, the Frenche kyng and his bend on coursers barded, their bardes covered with purple broched satten and purple velvet right royally, without any more enbrodering. The kynge of Englande was mounted on a horse of force and courage royally and nobly apparelled he and his retain in sute lyke. The apparel was of cloth of silver of damaske bordered wyth letters of cloth of golde of damaske all the borders, on the bardes and apparell were litle mountaynes and springing braunches of Basyle, wrought all of fyne gold, and every braunche, lefe and stalke, was lose and waverynge, all thycke and full of leaves and braunches, that vneth was the clothe of sylver sene, the reasons written on the borders was thus: *Breake not these swete herbes of the riche mounte, doute for dammage.* Thys apparel was mervailous freshe and fayre: thus the two kinges and theyr retayne tooke the felde. Then entered the Earle of Devonshyre cosyn to the kyng of England and xvi. honorable persones in hys bende well armed.

Then came Mounsire Florenges and xii. persones on hys bende, then came Mounsire de Rambeurs Mounsyre de Pyns and ix. men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Bonyval hym self, and xiii. men of armes on his bende, then came the bend of Mounsire de Burbon and xviii. men of armes, al wel and warlyke horsed and armed and everye of these bendes after their devises appareilled ryghte rychely.

The two noble kinges were ready and either of theim encountred one man of armes, the French kyng to the erle of Devonshire, the king of England to Mounsire Florenges. The kyng of England bare back Mounsire Florenges and brake his Poldron and him disarmed, when the strokes were striken, this battaill was departed, it was much praised. Then on went swordes and doune went visers, ther was litle abidinge. Sir Jhon Nevell, Mayster Fraunces Bryan, sir Rouland, and mayster Robart Garnyngham were this day as aides for the hurt persons that before wer of the entertayn, and fought fervently battail after battaill and none ceased till they all that woulde entre were delivered of their pretence in chalenge royall pretenced. This daye was the chalenge of Turnays after the articles ended, and all noble men

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men delivered and so departed the felde: then the kinges rode about the feld as honor of armes required, and the Herauldes cryed *la fine des Turnayes*, by the sayde ii. noble princes, the xxi. day of June.

Fryday the xxii. daye of June in the campe was set a barrier for to fyght on foote, also an Hale of the kynges of Englande was sette in the same place, enbrodered with cloudes of blewe, and oute of the cloudes the Sunne risinge, the valence of the same was wrytten in letters of blewe enbrodered, *dieu et mon droit*, in whyche Hale the Lordes and other of the entertayne of the chalenge armed theim selfes.

Nowe was the noble kynges ready to do battaylle on foote at the Barriers, the Quenes on their stages: then entered bende after bend on foote and preased to the Barriers, everye one in hys hande a Punchion spere, wherwith wythout any abode foyned and lashed alwayes one at another, two for twoo as the lotte fell. When the speares were spent, then swordes to them were geven. Then preased to the Barriers the two valyaunte kynges, and other, then was no tariynge but fought with suche force that the fier sprang out of their armure. Thus bende after bende they were all delivered by the two noble kinges and their aydes of retayne.

Then in came a bend with two hande swordes and castinge dartes to answere to that chalenge xii. menne wel armed, which presed to the barriers and mightely threw theyr speares the one to the other, ready or not ready, none favored other more then two enemies or at utterance, and ever still two for twoo, til al were delivered concernynge the chalenge, so this same two kinges safe in body and limmes ended the battaill for that daye at the barriers wyth great honor.

Al men of armes passed and departed for that time, much preparacion was made there, as setting up tentes, hales, and other places for furnishyng of houses of offices, and chambers of estates for the kynges and quenes, and also the same night was in the campe rered a large frame of tymber worke for a chapell place, whyche was siled with ryche clothes embrodered, wherin was made a stage of two degrees, with the chaire and cloth of state for the lorde Cardinall, the alter apparelled wyth all Juelles missal of greate riches, the same

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same chapel thus finished the xxiii. day of June beyng Satterday, at houre convenient, the said lord Cardinal sang an highe and solempne masse by note before the two kynges and quenes: the same done, Indulgence was geven to all hearers, the two kynges together associate tooke their chamber. Of thys masse in Flaunders arose muche communicacion, in so muche that the common voyce went, how the ii. kinges wer sworne together on the sacrament whyche was contrary, for the masse was for none other entent then to geve Indulgence to the kynges.

When tyme was, the two kynges washed and satte to meat under their clothes of estate, where they were rychly served, the royaltie of the fare and the ryches of vessel, plate and Juelles surmounteth the witte of man to expresse: the quenes in another Chamber wer served with no lesse honor, the dyner ended, the sayd straungers royally apparelled, presented them selfes in places of estate.

To tel you the apparel of the ladies, their rych attyres, their sumptuous Juelles, their diversities of beauties, and the goodly behavyor from day to day syth the first meting, I assure you ten mennes wyttes can scace declare it.

The two noble kinges put them selfes in armes with their bend and entered the felde on foote, before the barriers, then entered the bendes of men of armes in armur ryght rychly, then al was ready and the two kynges at the barriers ready to fyght ryght noblye. Thys daye was delivered at barriers by battail, a C. and vi. persones, the ii. last battails did the kynges. The kyng of England with few strokes disarmed his counter partie. The French kyng likewyse bare him self right valiantly. Thus the sayd satterday was fully ended, and all men delivered of articles of Justes and all Turneys and battailes on foote by the sayde two noble kynges.

After this chalenge honorably performed, the kynges prepared divers maskers, and especially of the king of England, had iiii. companies, and in every company x. persones apparelled as you shall heare.

The firste persone of the firste x. was appareilled like Hercules in a shirt of silver of damaske written in letters of purple about the border, *en femes et infauntes cy petit assurance*, whyche in Englyshe is as muche to saye: In women and children is litle assuraunce: he had on his head a whode with

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with a garlonde of grene damaske cutte into leaves like Vyne leaves and Hawthorne leaves, in hys hande a club covered wyth grene damaske full of prickes: the Lyons skyn aboute his backe was of cloth of gold of damaske, wrought and frysed wyth flatte gold of Damaske for the heeres, and buskins of gold on his legges. Other thre were apparelled for Hector, Alexandre and *Julius Cæsar*, in Turkay Jubbes of grene cloth of gold wrought lyke chamblet very richly, and on their hedes bonettes of Turkay fashyon, of cloth of gold of Tyssue, and clothe of sylver rolled in Cypres kercheffes after the Panyns fashyon, and girdles of cloth of gold wyth pendantes of the same cutt in greate flages, and every one buskins of grene damaske, and thre other lyke Princes of Jury for David, Josue, and Judas Machabeus: these thre were in longe gounes of russet Tinsel satten with great wide sleves lined with cloth of gold pendant and great tippettes of the same cloth of gold baudericke wise and whodes of the same, buskyns of grene damaske, their vysers had berdes of fyne golde: the other thre were for Christen prynces, as Charlemaine, Arthur and Godfry de Bulloigny. These thre were apparelled in long vestures of calendred cloth of golde and purple clothe of gold broched together, with whoddes and cappes of the same, visers and buskyns of grene Damaske.

Other x. wer apparelled in cotes of crimosyn Sattin al over covered with *quaterfoyles* of cloth of gold, of tissue, and clothe of sylver raysed, the gold was frynged with sylver, and the silver wyth gold and layde lose on the Crimosyn Satten, and every quaterfoyle was knyt to other with laces of gold. Over that the said x. persones had every one a large mantle or Robe of crimosyn satten enbrodered full of fygures of golde and on their heades bonettes of stoole worke of gold of damaske, and every one had on hys vyser a berde of golde wyer with whoddes and buskyns of crimosyn Satten.

Ten of the ladies were appareled after the Genowayes fashyon, the ground of their gounes was whit Satten, over diapred with right crimosyn satten and gold of Damaske, and on their heades square bonettes of damaske golde, rolled wyth lose gold that did hange doune at their backes, with kerchiefes or cleres of fyne Cypres.

The other x. ladies were attyred after the fashyon of Millayne,

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Millayne, in ryche Tyssue and clothe of sylver raysed, parted, travers, and ruffed sleves with foresleves pendant, knit with poyntes of gold and caules or coyfes of gold piped, and Myllayne bonettes of crimosyn satten drawen throughe wyth clothe of golde. Thus the kynge of England, and xix. noblemen with him and his sister Quene Marye dowager of Fraunce and xix. ladies with her like maskers apparelled as you have heard, all mounted on horses trapped in velvet white and yelow, and evermore a lord and a lady rydyng together, with mynstrelsie departed out of Guysnes on sonday the xxiiii. day of June and toke their way toward Arde, and in the way on the banke of Anderne these maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with xxxviii. persones richely apparelled in Maskyng apparell, and eche compaigny passed by other without any countenaunce makyng or disviseryng.

The Frenche kyng and his compaignie went to Guysnes, the king of England to Arde, where his majestie was received into the French court, and brought into the chamber of riche apparell, where at the instance of the French Quene the kinge and al hys, them disvisered and shewed theyr faces, and al the ladies of England likewyse, then began feast and chere to aryse, the king of England was set, and after all the ladies and Maskers of England, and were nobly served of many straung meates: After diner began the daunces in passing the tyme joyouslye.

The French Maskers apparel was not all of one suite, but of several fashions, of divers silkes, some cut, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayre, but very beautifull was the syght.

The Frenche kinge and his company was then at Guisnes, where the quene of England met and welcomed them. Then the French king and his Maskers shewed themselfes bare faced, and when the Quene them saw she did then the more reverence. Greate was the chere that then was there. After dyner and daunces done, the French king drew him self into a secret chamber and put from hym his apparel of maskery and toke to him hys apparell of usaunce, in the whyche were many fair Emeraudes, this done, he toke his leave of the quene, and on the court he loked with a high countenaunce and so departed, the lord Cardinal and the duke of Buckingham him conductinge, the king of Englande, this

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this tyme durynge, was at Arde, where he passed the time with much solas. At tyme convenient he toke leave of the Frenchmen and all other of the French court, and after they had visered them selfes they rode nobly thus apparelled through the towne of Arde, and so passed till they came to the campe, where as all the chalenges were finished, and there the French kyng perceiving the commyng of the English maskers, stode still beholding them. Then the kyng of Englande put of his viser and preased unto the French king: then the two kinges embrased and amiably together communed, after which communicacion eyther of other by kyngelye salutynge tooke leave, and for remembraunce eyther to other gave gyftes. The kynge of England gave to the Frenche kynge a colloure of Jewels of precyouse stoones called Balastes the Sanker furnyshed wyth greate Dyamantes and Perles. The Frenche kynge gave to the Kynge of Englande a Bracelet of precyouse stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed the sayde two noble Kynges, the sayd xxiiii. day of June, which was sonday and Midsomerday.

During this triumph so much people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Guysnes to se the kyng of England and his honor, to whom vitailes of the court were in plentie, the conduicte of the gate ranne wyne alwayes, there wer vacaboundes, plowmen, laborers and of the bragery wagoners and beggers that for drunkennes lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes and ladies that were come to se the noblenes, were fayne to lye in hay and strawe, and helde theim therof hyghly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the lady Margarete court, nor of Flaunders, Brabant nor Burgoin came never a persone to aunswere to the chalenge: By that it semed that ther was smal love betwene the Emperor and the Frenche kynge: Moreover Mounsire Fayot captayne of Boleyn wyth Mounsyre Chattelon did theyr devoyer to have taken the toune of sainct Omer, of which doyng was thought no goodes to the Emperor.

Monday the xxv. day of June, the kyng of England and the Quene and al the court removed from Guysnes to the toune of Caleys and ther made the king his abode, where was concluded the metinge of the Emperor with the kyng, wherfore was made newe and great provisions.

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In the tyme of the triumph there was a muttering that the toune of Caleys should be rendred into the French kynges handes, and for trueth the Frenchmen so spake and sayd, wherwith many Englishmen wer greved.

While the king lay thus in Caleys, he considered the charge of hys nobles, and thought that lesse nombre of servauntes would now serve them for the tyme of his abode, and so caused the Cardinal to cal al the gentlemen before him, whiche in the kinges name gave to theim thankes with much commendacions, and for eschewing of coste, because the king taried but the Emperors comminge, he licensed them to send home the halfe nombre of their servauntes and bad them after their long charges to live warely, this terme warely was amongest the most part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdayned.

Thus in Caleys rested the king and the quene until the x. day of July. Then the kinges grace with goodly repayr rode to the toune of Graveling in Flaunders ther that night to rest and se the Emperor, on the kynge wer wayting the lorde Cardinall, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, bishops, Barons, knightes, and gentlemen. The noble Emperor passed the water of Graveling, and at a place called Wael, there he mete and receyved the kinge of Englande, the Emperor made such semblant of love to all the court of Englande that he wan the love of thenglishmen, and so passed the Emperor and the king of England to Graveling, where the kynge lodged the best that might be, all lordes, gentlemen, yomen, and all sortes of Englishmen from the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so loving maner that much they praysed Themperors court. In Gravelyng was the Emperors Aunte Margarete, she welcomed the kinge and other noble men of the realme.

When the French king and his lordes had knowlege of the metynge of the Emperor and the kyng of England in the towne of Gravelinge, they were therwith greately greved, as by many thinges appered for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdained, and in their suites ther greatly deferred and had litle right and muche lesse favor, so from day to day still more and more began hartbrenning, and in conclusion open warre did arryse betwene the two realmes.

Wednisday the xi. day of July, the Emperor and the lady Margaret came with the king of England to the toune of Caleys,

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Caleys, the Emperor and the lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hal, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessaries for their comming: and for solas was buylded a banqueting house 800 foote round, after a goodly devyse, builded upon Mastes of shyppes in suche maner as I thinke was never sene, for in it was the whole speare portrated, which by reason of the great winde that blewe, coulde not be acheved, the same day at night, the king and xv. persones wer apparelled all in black Velvet covered with cloth of golde, cut on the velvet, fastened with knottes of gold, on the whiche knottes honge spangels of golde lyke tuftes and bonettes of the same and clokes of crimosyn Satten and cloth of gold wrapped travers, and their buskyns of the same clothe of gold. Al these lusty maskers went to the Emperors lodging and were received and in the chambre of presens daunced and revelled, the which at the Emperors request, the kinge and other theimselves disvisered, whereby the king was knowen: then the kynge toke his leave and departed for that nyght.

Tewsday the xii. day of July, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperor and the lady margaret supped with the king and the quene at the checker, where the same night after supper revelled lxxxxvi. Maskers: after the revelles was a banquet: After whych banket the kyng brought the Emperor and the lady Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew hym.

This night was viii. compaignyes of maskers, and in every compaignie xii. persones all in gold, silver and velvet rychely appareilled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse.

In these revelles were put in maskers apparel divers gentlemen of the French court unweting to the kyng or any other that bare rule, for divers yong gentlemen of the French court favored more the Frenche partie, then the Emperors partie, through which meanes thei saw and much more heard then they should have done.

Friday, the xiii. day of July, the Emperor did entend to have departed from Caleys, but the counsail was suche that he departed not that night. The charters before tyme concluded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared al the whole articles of high peace and league tripertite, to which the French kynge had assented and fully contented, and

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and for the more exemplificacion of the same, he sent the lorde *de Roche* wyth letters of credence to signifie to the Emperors Majestie that to the same articles he the Frenche kyng promised in the worde of a king as prince faythfull, to observe and kepe for him and his realme and subjectes. Thus by the lord de Roche in the Emperors presence and before the king of England in the name of his master there shewed the Frenche kynges will in the toune of Caleys with many high and urgent causes concernyng the princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Calays that night, by whiche abode the emperors servauntes were muche in doubt of the Emperors persone.

Saterday the xiiii. day of July, about none the Emperor toke leave of the quene of England his aunte and of her traine of ladies, the kyng with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towardes Flaunders called Wael, wher the Emperor enbrased the kyng, and him betoke to almightie God, and the kyng gave to him a courser of Naples richely apparelled.

The kyng toke leave of the Duches of Savoye great aunte to the Emperor and of all nobles of the Emperors court, and so departed, smal tyme in Calayce the kyng made abode, but in goodly hast shipped and with the quene and all other nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with huntyng and other sportes honorably and made no great jestes this yere.

This yere the kynge kept his Christmas at his Maner of Grenewiche with muche noblenes and open court. And the x. day of February in his owne person Justed to all comers, and the xii. day his grace and therle of Devonshyre with iiii. aydes answered at the Turnay all comers which were xvi. persones, noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest.

The duke of Buckingham accused.

In this tyme was Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham accused to the kyng of high treason, wherfore the kynges grace by the advise of hys counsail, sent and directed his letters to the sayd duke, beyng at his maner of Thornbury in the countie of Glocester, that incontinent he shoulde come to his presence all excuses layde aside. Also the kynge gave commaundement to sir Willyam Cumpton, sir Richard Weston, and Sir Willyam Kyngston knightes for the kynges bodye, to take with them secret power and also serjauntes at armes, and

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and that thei shoulde wisely take hede that when the duke had received the kynges letters, he should not convey hymselfe, whiche they wisely accomplished.

The sayd Duke upon the sight of the kynges letters removed, and so jornied tyll he came to Wyndsore, and there offered at S. George, and alwayes not farre from him awaitynge his demeanor, were the same knightes liyng. The Duke lodged in Wyndsore for that night, and as it was well proved, he mervailously feared, inso muche that he called unto him a servaunt of the Kynges named Thomas Ward, the same Thomas Ward was gentleman Herbenger for the kyng, and demaunded of him what he made there, who answered, saiyng that ther lay his office, there the duke perceived that he could not escape. And so muche was he in spirit troubled that as he was at breakefast his meat would not doune, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly toke his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he toke his barge: before this tyme was the dukes chauncellour taken and as a prisoner kept in the tower, whiche had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kynges persone.

When the Duke was in his barge, he commaunded to lande at my lorde Cardinals bridge, where he landed wyth foure or five of his servauntes, desiryng to see the same lorde Cardinall, but to hym was answered how the same lorde was diseased, well sayd the duke yet wyll I drynke of my lordes wyne or I passe, then a Gentleman of my Lordes brought the Duke with muche reverence into the Seller, where the duke dranke.

When he sawe and perceived no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to hys barge, saiynge to his servauntes, I mervaill where my chauncellor is, that he commeth not to me, not knowynge that he was in prison.

The duke thus in his barge commyng towardes London, sir Henry Marney capitaine of the Kynges Garde, on him attendyng C. yomen of the Kynges garde in a barge on the ryver of Thames met the same duke, and without abode borded the dukes barge and hym in the kynges name attached. And then from him were put his servauntes, and the duke was brought to the Haie wharfe and there landed, the dukes servauntes were commaunded to go to the Maner of the Rose in saincte Larence Pountnay, and there

there to abide till the Kynges pleasure were further knowen.

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Sir Henry Marnay brought the duke through the Thames strete to the Tower of London, the people muche mused what the cause might be, and for trouth tyll it was knowen, among theim was muche speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charterhouse besides Bristow called Henton, also Mayster Jhon Delaker the Dukes Confessor, and the dukes Chauncellor before mencioned, al were in the Tower prisoners. The xvi. day of April was the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the whyle that ever ambicion shoulde be the losse of so noble a man, and so muche in the Kynges favor, by hym all Lordes and other may beware how they geve credence to false prophesies, or false hypocrites. For a Monke of the Charter house shewed the Duke that he shoulde be Kynge of Englande, whych to the Kynges persone coulde be no higher treason. Alas that ever he gave credence to suche a false traitor.

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IN this tyme inquiries were made in divers shyres of Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham beynge prisoner in the tower of London, where, by the knightes and gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgenye, the same Lorde was attached for consailement, and the Lord Mountague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Nevell knight, brother to the sayd lorde Aburgeney forbidden the kynges presence.

The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kynges letters patentes high Steward of Englande, to accomplishe the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne and judge the causes of the pieres, &c.

Wherfore shortly after was made in Westmynster hall a scaffolde for the Lordes and a presence for a Judge, railed and counter railed about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Devonshyre, Essex, Shrewisbury, Kent,

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Kent, Oxford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Jhons, Lorde Delaware, lorde Fitz Warren, Lorde Wylloughby, Lorde Broke, Lorde Cobham, lorde Harbert, and the lorde Morley, satte as Peres and judges upon the same duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Lovell and sir Richard Chomley knightes, brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reverenced the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kinges lerned counsaill. Then the Clarke of the counsail sayd, sir Edward duke of Buckyngham hold up thy hande, thou art endited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and ymagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soveraigne lorde the kyng: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke answered by my Peres.

And when thenditement was openly redde, the duke sayd, it is false and untrue and conspired and forged to bryng me to my death, and that wil I prove, allegyng many reasons to falsefy the inditement, and against his reasons the kynges Atturnay alleged the examinacions, confessions and proves of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought furth, then was brought before hym Syr Gylbert Perke prieste his Chauncellor, fyrst accusor of the same Duke, Maister Jhon Delacourt priest, the Dukes Confessor and his owne hand writyng layde before hym to the accusement of the duke. Charles Knevet Esquyer Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besides Bathe, whiche like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had divers tymes sayd to the duke that he should be kyng of England, but the duke sayd that in himselfe he never consented to it. Divers presumpcions and accusementes wer layde to him by Charles Knevet, which he would fain have covered. The deposicions were redde, and the deponentes were delivered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my lorde, the kynge oure soveraigne Lorde hath commaunded, that you shall have hys lawes ministred with favor and right to you. Wherefore yf you have any other thinge to say for your selfe you shalbe hard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, and so was led into Paradise a house so named.

named. The Lordes went to counsaill a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of Northfolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of sir Edward duke of Buckyngham touching the high tresons? The Duke of Suffolke answered, he is giltie, and so sayd the Marques and all the other Earles and lordes: Thus was this prince duke of Buckyngham founde giltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, vii. Erles, and xii. Barons. THE XIII. YERE [1521-22]

The Duke was brought to the barre sore chafyng and swette mervailously, after he had made his reverence, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as a Judge sayd, sir Edward, you have heard how you be indited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not gyltie, puttyng your selfe to the peres of the realme, the whiche have found you giltie: then the Duke of Northfolke wept and sayd, you shalbe ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a Herdill and so drawen to the place of execucion, and there to be hanged, cutte doune alive, your membres to be cutte of and cast into the fyer, your bowels brent before you, your head smytten of, and your body quartered and devyded at the kynges wyll, and God have mercy on your soule. Amen. The duke of Buckinghams judgement.

The Duke of Buckingham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you have sayd as a traytor should be sayed unto, but I was never none, but my lordes I nothyng maligne for that you have done to me, but the eternall God forgeve you my death and I do: I shall never sue to the kyng for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from hym then I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the axe turned towardes him, and so led into a barge, Sir Thomas Lovell desired him to sytte on the cusshyns and carpet ordeined for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckyngham, nowe I am but Edwarde Bowhen the mooste caitiffe of the worlde. Thus they landed at the Temple, where received him sir Nicholas Vawse and sir Willyam Sandes Baronetes and led him through the Citie, who desired ever the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is thende of evill life. God forgeve him, he was a proude prince, It is pitie that he behaved him so against his kynge and liege lorde, whom God preserve. Thus aboute

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aboute iiii. of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Frydaie the xvii. day of Maie, about xi. of the clocke. This duke with a great power was delivered to Jhon Kyeme and Jhon Skevyngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and al men to pray for him, and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an axe he toke his death, on whose soule Jesu have mercy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body and head and buried them. Alas that ever the grace of truth was withdrawen from so noble a man, that he was not to his kyng in alegeaunce as he ought to have been, suche is thende of ambicion, thende of false prophesies, thende of evill lyfe and evill counsaill.

About this tyme Fraunces the Frenche kynge made open warre against the Emperor Charles both by lande and sea. The Provinces of Aragon, Castle, and all Spayne, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders and the steades mainteined the partie of the Emperor. The Kynges highnes consideryng the murder and effusion of Christen bloud, and the trouble that might ensue to al the princes of Christendome, by invasion of the great Turke sent the Cardinall of Yorke his Chauncellor by name lord Thomas Wolsey to his toune of Calayce to intreate an amitie and peace betwene those two mightie princes. For this voiage great preparacion was made, not onely for him but also for the Earle of Worcestre then lorde Chamberlayn, the lorde of S. Johns, the lord Ferrys, the lorde Harbert, the bishop of Duresme, the bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir John Peche, sir Jhon Hussey, Sir Richarde Wyngfelde, sir Henry Gildforde, and many other Knightes, Esquiers, gentlemen, Doctors, and learned menne. And thus honorably accompanied he rode through London the xxv. daye of July, and at Thomas Beckettes house the Maier and Aldermen toke leave of hym, praiyng God to send him good spede. Thus passed he to Cantorbury where tharchebishop, and the bishop of Cantorbury and other prelates received him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng under Canape to the bishoppes palayce: the viii. day of Julye he came to Dover: the xx. daye he and thother lordes with their retinues

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retinues toke passage, and arived at Calayce in safetie, where the lorde Deputie and counsaill received theim wyth muche honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

Shortly after whose arivall, came thether the Chauncelor of Fraunce and the Countie de Palays with iiii. C. horse, as ambassadors from the Frenche kynge. And likewise from the Emperor came great Ambassadors, and when thei satte in counsail, the Emperors Ambassade shewed their Commission and power. And even so did the Frenche kynges Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperors commission. Thus when the grudges were declared on bothe sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors consented to peace, the French kynges would not. And when the Frenche Ambassadors consented to peace, the Emperors would not. The Cardinall then would have knitted the Emperor, the kyng our soveraigne lorde, the Frenche kynge, and the bishop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no suche Commission, especially the bishop of Romes, where upon letters were sent to Rome in all hast and the Frenchmen taried in Calayce till he returned, and beheld the toune, with whiche the counsail of Calaice wer not contented. Hereupon the Cardinal rode to the Emperor accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche ambassadors in Calaice to abide his returne) and passed by Gravelyng, Dunkirke, Newport, Owdenborow, and sundry tymes in the waye he was encountred and received with noble men. And without Bruges he was received with many noble men, and many lordes and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his owne persone met him, and shewed to him and to the other lordes and gentlemen of england gracious countenaunce, and so accompanied the cardinall into the toune, where great multitude of people beheld them, and so rode to the Emperors palayce where he lighted, and fyrst embrased the Cardinall and after all the lordes, knyghtes, and gentlemen of Englande. It is to suppose the Emperor knewe of the Commission geven to the sayd Cardinall, whiche had the kynges power as if his grace had been present, and also had the great seale wyth hym, whiche had not been seen before, or els the Emperor woulde not have done hym so high honor and reverence.

The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges

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kynges gard and other beyng to the nomber of iiii. C. lx. horse, were wel lodged every man after his degree, and every lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Beves, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner deintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and bankettyng dishes.

The next day after the great chere made to the lord Cardinall and to all his lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinall made his proposicion concernyng peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperor and the French kyng declaryn the calamities, misery, and wretchednes that came by warre: and the commodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde and tranquilitie, whiche proposicion continued a great while: and when the Cardinall had made an ende, the Emperor himselfe answered and said: The lawe of God byndeth every man to claime and aske his right, and that the same lawe byndeth no man to holde, kepe, and withstande another mans right. Our cosyn of Fraunce doeth wythholde our rightes and patrimonies whiche we have princely desired, and eftsones wil, and if he wil rendre to us our said rightes and patrimonies, we are contented to have peace with hym and his subjectes, yf not we trust in God and oure ryght that the troubles by your fatherhed rehersed, shal come upon hym and his adherentes. And for the titles of our regalitie, to putte that to the bishop of Rome, we do consider that kynge Edwarde of Englande the third of that name of noble memory, warred by just title to recover the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, whiche title by intercession was put to the bishop of Rome and his court, to discusse and expended there by the space of xxiii. yeres undetermined, notwithstanding great pursuite and labor was made to have it ended: Suche lyke tyme shoulde be to us tedious, wherfore we entende by the ayde of God to folowe our title.

The Cardinall replied and declared the league that was betwene the thre mightyest princes of the worlde, that is to saye, the Emperor, the kynge our soveraigne lorde Henry the VIII. and the Frenche kyng, and how that to the prince that fyrst moved warre, the other two should be enemies unto hym, and sayd, beholde the mightie power and puissaunt realme, riches, shippes, vitailes, and ordinaunce, lordes,

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lordes, chivalry, horsemen, archers and comminaltie, this is in the high and mightie kynge of England my soveraigne lord, and he that fyrst warre beginneth, by the sayd league my sayed soveraigne lorde to his honor may lefully spred his baner and make warre in defence of his frende. For this and other thynges my soveraigne lorde desires of your highnes and majestie the consent of peace.

My lorde Cardinall sayd the Emperor, I esteme moste the honor of my dere uncle the kynge of Englande and trust in his assuraunce, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Navye, nor ordinaunce shalbe but to our ayde in assistynge our tried title, nor will consent to any thyng in dishonorynge us or our Empire: God defende but we shoulde humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserved. Lorde God who may esteme more higher injuries and wronges then we in our person, our predecessours, and our lovyng subjectes have endured by the house of Fraunce. My lorde Cardinall sayd the Emperor, their pride with our honor we may and must apprehende and overthrow by the help of God: With these wordes the counsaill brake up.

All the lordes and menne of honor of England that day dyned in the Emperors court.

When they were set and served, it came so to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dyner sayd thus. It is thought that the kynges Majestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that ever he shoulde ymagyn a thyng so muche to the dishonor of the Emperor. The kynge is his uncle, is it not come to his hearynge that all the worlde heareth? It was so that by assent of the Byshoppe of Rome and other princes to make peace wyth us, the Frenche partie after the battayll of Gyngate obtained by Maximilian then archeduke of Ostericheche, where everye noble manne of us foughte wyth the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slewe of theim a mervailous nomber. They desired the doughter of Maximilian named Margarete to wife, whiche lady is Duches of Savoy and yet livyng, and she beynge like an Emperors childe was delivered into their handes as quene of the realme, with divers tounes in Picardie rendred with her and parte of high Burgonie, and treasure mervaylous. Nowe sithen the same Maximilian had spoused Jane doughter and heire of Fraunces Duke of Britaigne, whiche lande the Frenchemen over ranne and spoiled, and she

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she constrained to sue unto Charles Kynge of Fraunce for a safe conduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and upon the same safeconduict graunted, the sayd ladie Jane passynge through Fraunce with a small company, was by the same Charles taken at Ambois and there maried her against her wyll, wherupon he forsoke the lady Margarete and sent her againe to her father themperor without rediliver or rendryng againe the tounes that wer delivered with her. And where as the duke of Geldre is subject to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the Frenche Kynge, rebell? And where also by just title the realme of Naples ought to be united to the croune of Castle, dyd not the Frenche kynge fayne a jorney into the holy lande pretendyng title by Jeniamy brother to the great Turke beynge then captive in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtained the sayd Jeniamy, and so passed into Naples wythout perill, and seazed all the lande into hys handes, and then prisoned he the same Jeniamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castle, he made claime to Naples by Margaret quene of England late wyfe to Henry the VI.

The kyng of Naverne is evermore vassal to the house of Aragon and Castell, yet the Frenche kyng caused him to rebell, hopyng thereby to subdue the sayd countreys.

Of late daies the Frenche kyng by false treason caused Sir Robert de la Marche to submitte himselfe to the Emperors Majestie, who received him upon his othe and fidelitie, pardonyng all offences past. Is not this false traitor returned, and is of the Frenche partie? How may that court, that counsaill, that kyng, that realme that consenteth to treason and perjury by maintenaunce of traitors be called honorable? Hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden never to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? and yet doth at this day. And albeit that his Majestie speaketh not of these thynges, yet he well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayeth, *Vive Burgoigne*, every manne that heard this rehersall, knewe that it was true, howbeit he was not answered, but some Englishe knightes sayd, Sir you have sayd well, and as God will all muste be. Thus was this narracion ended.

In this season the Emperor gatte the toune of Mewzon: Also of the Emperors partie a great army arrived in the Duchy

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Duchy of Mylan and also the Emperors power besieged the noble citie of Messiers, but the capitaine called *Franciscus* was suspected of treason, for he removed wyth the hoste from the seage without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperor made a seage volant about the Citie of Turnay, for the reskue wherof and also of Messiers, the French kyng made a great army and him selfe in person.

Durynge this seage the Frenchemen toke a Spaniardes ship laden with Englishemens goodes at Margate within the kynges streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were C. lx. men, and of Spaniardes and Englishemen only xxv.

The kynge of Denmarke Cristianus came to se themperor his brother in law beyng a stately prince, yet meanes was made that the lorde Cardinall and he spake together without great signe of amitie.

The lorde Cardinall after he had sojorned in Bruges by the space of xiii. daies and concluded divers matters with the Emperor and accomplished his commission: he tooke leave of his Majestie, and likewise dyd all the noblemen of England, and after convenient jornies arrived with al his company at Calyce, where thembassadors of Fraunce taried him, and immediatly after his arivyng he treated with them of peace, yet not so ernestly as he did before and that perceived well the sayd Ambassadors and wrote therof to the Frenche kynge, yet the welth and prosperitie of both the realmes and their subjectes were highly reasoned betwen the Cardinall and the sayd Ambassadours, especially for fishyng, where upon was concluded that the subjectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to any porte of thone or thother prince without robbyng, spoylyng, or takyng unto the second day of February next.

The French kyng with a mightie army and himselfe in person repaired to the countrey of Cambray, mindyng to passe the streites, but they wer withstanded by the Emperors power, yet he continued there from October unto Novembre without any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the Frenche kynge. The duke Daleson hearyng that, made preparacions wyth the Almaynes to passe the marryes by the point Dassans, and there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pypes and vessels, and brought thither their great ordinaunce. The Emperor beyng in the toune of Valencian and therof

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therof advertised, caused strong watche to be made, and as they would have passed, the bastarde Emery, and the capitaine of Gaunt with xii. C. men mette with them, where was a great conflicte and many men slaine, and at the last the Almaines were put to flight and their bridges and other provisions broken: Of the Frenche partie wer slaine in this conflicte xiiii. C. men, and of the Burgonians were slaine the bastarde Emery, the capitaine of Gaunte and iiii. C. men.

The lord Cardinal after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and could not bryng theim to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperor the lord of sainct Jhons and sir Thomas Boleyn knight to advertise his Majestie therof.

Likewise the sayd lord Cardinall sent to the Frenche kyng the Erle of Worcester and the bishoppe of Ely to exhorte hys grace to peace, he hard theim, but he gave theim but fewe woordes to answere, and after they had been xix. or xx. daies in his hoost, they tooke leave and returned to Calyce.

Duryng the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calayce all writtes and patentes wer there by hym sealed and no shyriffes chosen for lacke of his presence.

The kyng of Hungary sent an Ambassador to the Kynges highnes for ayde against the Turke, whom the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng hys abode in Calayce. His commyng was for ayde as men sayd against the Frenche kyng.

The lorde Cardinal after the returne of the Englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the Frenche kynge, tooke shippyng and landed at the porte of Dover, the xxvii. day of November, and there toke his jorney to Blechyngly, where the kinges grace welcomed hym gevyng him also thankes for his great paines and travaill.

This tyme the Frenche kynge layde seage to the toune and Castle of Hedyng, the Burgonions perceivynge they were not furnished for the defence thereof, forsoke the sayed toune and castle and fledde into Flaunders to no litle rejoysing of the sayd Frenchemen.

The Admyrall of Fraunce named Mounsire Bonyfet with a puissaunt armye made signe as though he woulde passe into Naverne, howbeit sodainly he reculed with his hooste and beseaged the toune of Fontraby in Biskay, and brake the

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the fyrste, second, and thirde walle thereof with his ordinaunce mervailously: And after gave a freshe assault to the same. The Spaniardes (notwithstandynge that the ordinaunce was caryed into Naverne for defence thereof) defended theimselfes manfully and slewe of the Frenchemen vi. hundreth and moo, and of the Spaniardes lx. slaine. Then the Capitaine of Fontraby made serche what vitailes was in the toune, and founde that there was but for twoo meles, he called the inhabitauntes and menne of warre together declaryng their great necessitie, and sayed the battery of the walles discorageth us not, but the great necessitie of victalles, wherfore we muste do like the Wolfe that runneth from the wood for hunger to hys death, and considerynge the great scarcitie of vitailes in Byskay, by meanes whereof we cannot be vitayled we muste nedes rendre the toune. Neverthelesse they kept the toune seven daies after that they had neither bread, fleshe fruite nor oyles in the same, but onely herbes and water, yet at last herbes failed also, by meanes wherof they rendred the toune by composicion, and or the Frenchmen entered, they delivered the Englishemen all their goodes out of the toune.

The Frenche kynge liyng enbattailed in the countrey of Cambray sodainly brake his campe, not muche to hys honor. Great warres was this tyme in Italye, in so muche that the Emperours hoost wanne the citie and countrey of Mylan to the high displeasure of the Frenche kynge, for he lost there many of his nobles and other capitaines and men of warre.

Thus the Frenche kyng returned into his countrey without reskuyng the citie of Turnay, neverthelesse he sent them a letter which was taken by the people of the Countye of Nasson, the tenour whereof foloweth.

'Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well, lettyng you to 'wete that dayly before us appeareth your true faythfull 'services, by that you abode within oure citie of Turnay 'with great jeopardie, to the muche honor of us and our 'realme, and to your praise and manly fame for ever and us 'to be your good lord for the demerites of your so high 'services. And where as we entended the relief and reskue 'of you and our sayde subjectes and citie of Turnay, we 'considerynge the weale of our person and realme, have 'removed us from that purpose. Wherefore we maye no 'more

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'more saye unto you but God and Mounsire sainct Denys 'be youre succours.'

When the Countie of Nasson knewe that no reskew shoulde come, he then sent for more people and ordinaunce and planted siege on all parties of the citie. Then the capitaine of the Castell and Provost of the citie after thei knewe of the French kynges retreite, and after long consultacion amongest them had, rendred the Citie and Castle by appointment, that is to say, that the Burgeises should have xv. daies to depart with bagge and baggage, levyng behynd them all the ordinaunces aswell of the Castle as of the Citie. Thus was the Castle and Citie of Turnay rendred into the Emperors handes the last day of November the yere of our Lorde God M. D. xxi.

This yere many goodly and gorgious Mommeries were made in the court to the great rejoysing of the Quene and ladies and other nobles beyng there.

The last day of december the Cardinall accompaignied the Emperors Ambassadours to the court where they were honorably received and highly feasted durynge their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisynges, enterludes and bankettes made in the same season.

Pope Leo dyed and Adryan chosen.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London and other places of the realme, and many noble capitaines died, as the lorde Broke, sir Weston Browne, sir Jhon Heron, sir Edward, sir Jhon Peche and muche other people.

The bishop of London Doctor Fitz James likewise deceased thys yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to the same benefice.

The lorde Thomas Haward earle of Surrey, came out of Ireland to the court the xxv. day of January, when he had been there the space of xx. monethes in great travaill and payn, and often tymes sore troubled by the wylde Irishe, howbeit by his noblenes and manhod he brought the lordes of Ireland to the Kynges due obeysaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall laude and praise.

The Frenchemen this tyme spoyled and shamefully robbed the kynges subjectes on every coast of the sea, so that wheresoever the kyng roade his poore subjectes came with lamentacions

lamentacions and cryes shewynge hys grace of the crueltie of the Frenchemen and of their inhumaine dealynge with them, but ever the Frenche Ambassadours promised restitucion of every thyng, but none was restored. THE XIII. YERE [1521-22]

In this moneth of January, the kyng commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readynes, which was done with all diligence.

About this tyme the duke of Albany arrived in Scotland, notwithstandynge that the Frenche kynge sware unto the Cardinall that he should never come into Scotlande, without the kynge our sovereigne lordes consent, but for all that he had commission from the Frenche kyng although the Frenche Kynge wrote to the Kynge that he was entred Scotlande without his assent.

The second day of February, the kynge beyng at Grenewiche, came thether the Cardinall with a Legacion from Leo bishop of Rome, and also his ambassadour, on whom waited many a nobleman, the kynge met them at his chamber doore welcommyng them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinall, high and victorious kyng it hath pleased our Lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a kynge electe in favor of the high heaven, and so appeareth presently by your noble persone, so formed and figured in shappe and stature with force and pulchritude, whiche signifieth the present pleasure of our lorde God wrought in youre noble grace. And further he praised his wisedome, prudence, and learnynge, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of hys most noble grace. And finally the Cardinall declared how the sayd bishop of Rome had sent his highnes an Acte in Bull under leade, declaryng therein his grace to be the defendor of the Christian fayth, and his successors for evermore.

Defender of the fayth.

And when his grace had received the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde and published, he went to his chapell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundrye princes, the Cardinall beyng revested to syng Masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gave thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gave unto all them that heard the Masse cleane remission and blessed the Kyng and the Quene and

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and all the people: then was the Bull eftsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggebuttes plaied in honor of the kynges newe style. Thus hys hyghnes went to dinner. In the middes whereof, the kyng of Heraldes and his compaignie began the larges, criyng *Henricus dei gratia rex Angliæ, et Franciæ, defensor fidei, et dominus Hiberniæ*, thus ended the dinner, with muche habundance of vitaill and wyne, to all maner of people.

The x. daie of february, the Lord Hodie chief Baron of the kynges Eschequer gave over his office, and for him was admitted by the Cardinal, master Jhon Fitz James, a right honorable man and wel learned.

In this time was much busines betwene the Emperor and the French kyng, wherfore the king sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vitayled for the warre: the Admiral was called Christopher Coo, a man expert on the sea, for saffegarde of the Merchauntes, and other the kinges subjectes, that were grevously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes and other rovers.

This tyme was the viii. day of February, the lord Dacres Wardein of the Marches of Scotlande, entered into Scotland with v. C. men, by the Kynges commaundemente, and there Proclamed that the Scottes should come into the kynges peace, by the fyrst daye of Marche folowynge, or els to stande at their perilles, the Duke of Albany beynge then within fyve myles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The xi. day of February, sir George Nevell lorde Burgayny, beeing then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and ther in the kinges Benche confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edwarde late Duke of Buckingham to bee true, and after the open confession thereof, led againe to the Tower.

The lord Montacute the kinges cosyn, was about this tyme reconciled to his graces favor, which had bene prisoner in the Tower, wyth sir Edward Nevel knight, this sir Edward Nevel was forbidden the kynges presence, for bearinge favor to the Duke of Buckingham.

This yere the second of Marche, certain noble men of the Empire arrived in England to passe into Spain, who wer honorably receyved and in honor of them great Justes and triumphes wer made, and that finished and done, thei toke their leave and departed on their jorney.

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Also this time commission was geven throughoute the realme, for general musters to be had, to knowe what power might be made with in the same, and also men sworne of what substaunce and landes thei wer of. And the Cardinal advertised of the same: not wythout grudging of the people, and marveiling why thei shuld be sworne for their own goodes.

The citie of London was thys moneth advertised of the comming of the Emperor, wherefore was greate preparacion: and the citezens sent the kynges grace one hundred tall men wel harnissed, to furnyshe hys navie, appoynted to kepe the narowe seas.

The French kyng certified the kynges hyghnes, by his leters dated in Marche, how the Graund capitain of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Monsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had won the toune of Milain, which was not true, for within five or syxe dayes after, it was evidently knowen that the Frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

Moreover the same season the Frenche kynge wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to send him thre Carectes and sixe Galeis furnished for the warres, unto his porte of Breste, to maintein his warres agaynst the forsayd Emperor, who made him by their letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kynges hyghnes kepte thys yere his Easter at his manour of Richemont, and caused hys amner to make enquiry, eyght miles round about the said manour, what poore people was in every parish. And for the eschuyng of murther, that moste commonly fortuned every good-friday, by reason of the great resort of poor people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with his almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a rover or thiefe of Scotland, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squyer of Cornewall called maister Jhon Arondell, and presented to the kinges highnes, who committed him to the Tower of London, where he remaygned prisoner a long season after.

In the moneth of Marche, as you had hard before, came certain noble men from the Emperor to the king, which the more

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more to solace theim enterprised a Justes, he him self was chief on the one syde, hys courser was barded in cloth of silver, of Denmarke, embrodered wyth L. L. L. of Golde, and under the letters a harte of manne wounded, and great rolles of Golde with blacke letters, in whyche was wrytten, *mon nauera*, put together, it is, *ell mon ceur nauera*, *she hath wounded my harte*, and the same suit was his base.

Then folowed sir Nicholas Carewe, his base and bard was white Damaske, on whiche was embraudered with Clothe of gold: a prison and a man loking out at a grate, and over the prison came from the prisoner a rolle, in which was written in Frenche, in prison I am at lybertie, and at libertie I am in pryson, and all his apparel was garded with shakelles of sylver.

Then folowed therle of Devonshire, the lord Roos in one suit, their appareil was whit velvet, embraudered wyth cloth of gold, wroughte in device an harte, traversed crosse wise wyth a chayne, the which devided the bard in foure quarters, in twoo quarters was a hand of golde holding a spere of the worlde, on the other twoo quarters was twoo handes holding two plumes of fethers, and on the borders were written, my harte is betwene joye and peyne.

Then folowed Anthony Kyngston, and Anthony Knevet, their apparell was a hart bounde in a blew lace, embroudered on Crimsin sattin, and written about wyth letters of gold, my harte is bounde.

Nicholas Darrell had a bard and base of black sattin, embraudered full of hartes, turned or broken of gold, and written in letters of silver, my harte is broken.

Last of that bend was Anthony Broune, which had a bard of silver full of speres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of golde written aboute in letters of blacke *Sance remedy*, wythout remedy.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke and his bend al in bardes and bases of russet velvet and cloth of silver, embraudered with braunches of paunces of golde, at these Justes were many speres broken, whych the straungiers hyghly commended.

The third day of Marche, the Cardinall made to the kyng and the Ambassadors a great and a costly banket, and after that a playe and a Maske, their garmentes were russet sattin and yelowe, all the one side was yelowe face and legge, and al the other syde was russet.

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On shrovetewesday at nyght, the said Cardinall to the kinge and ambassadors made another supper, and after supper thei came into a great chamber hanged with Arras, and there was a cloth of estate, and manye braunches, and on every braunche xxxii. torchettes of waxe, and in the nether ende of the same chamber was a castle, in which was a principal Tower, in which was a Cresset burning: and two other lesse Towers stode on every side, warded and embattayled, and on every Tower was a banner, one banner was of thre rent hartes, the other was a ladyes hand gripinge a mans harte, the third banner was a ladies hand turning a mannes hert: thys castle was kept with ladies of straung names, the first *Beautie*, the second *Honor*, the third *Perseveraunce*, the fourthe *Kyndnes*, the fyfth *Constance*, the sixte *Bountie*, the seventh *Mercie*, and the eyghte *Pitie*, these eyght ladies had Millian gounes of white sattyn, everye Ladye had her name embraudered wyth golde, on their heades calles, and Millein bonettes of golde, with Jwelles. Undernethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eyght ladyes, whose names were *Dangier*, *Disdain*, *Gelousie*, *Unkyndenes*, *Scorne*, *Malebouche*, *Straungenes*, these ladyes were tired lyke to women of Inde. Then enterd eyght Lordes in clothe of golde cappes and all, and great mantell clokes of blewe Sattin, these lordes were named, *Amorus*, *Noblenes*, *Youth*, *Attendaunce*, *Loyaltie*, *Pleasure*, *Gentlenes*, and *Libertie*, the kyng was chyefe of thys compaignie, thys compaygnye was led by one all in Crymosyn Sattin wyth burninge flames of golde, called *Ardent Desire*, whyche so moved the ladies to geve over the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdain* sayed that they woulde holde the place, then *Desire* sayd the ladies shoulde be wonne, and came and encoraged the knyghtes, then the lordes ranne to the castle (at whych tyme wythoute was shot a greate peale of gunnes) and the ladies defended the Castle wyth Rose water and Comfyttes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenges, and other fruites made for pleasure, but at the last the place was wonne, but Ladye *Scorne* and her compaygnye stubbernely defended theim wyth bowes and balles, tyl they were driven out of the place and fled. Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prysoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verye pleasauntlye, whiche much pleased the straungers, and when

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when thei had daunced their fyll, then all these dysvisered themselfes and were knowen: and then was there a costly banket, and when al was done, the straungiers toke their leave of the king and the Cardinall, and so departed into Flaunders, geving to the king muche commendacion.

The kynge like a prince which forseeth all thinges, saw that warre was likely to ensue, caused the earle of Surrey, his hygh Admirall, to put in readines his navie, both for the conduictynge of the Emperoure into England, and also for the defence of his subjectes, which were daily robbed and spoiled on the sea, which lorde Admiral toke such diligence with the helpe of sir William Fitz William his Vice Admyrall, that all the shyppes by the beginnyng of April, were rigged and trimmed, and in especial the Henry grace of due, the kynges great ship, was brought out of the ryver of Thamis into the Dounes, readye to sayle whether God and the kynge woulde.

In thys yere at the Assise, kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and al the gentlemen, Bailiefes and other, resorting thether, toke such an infeccion, whether it wer of the savor of the prisoners or of the fylth of the house, that manye gentlemen, as syr Jhon Cut, syr Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen therof dyed, and al most all which were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly escaped with their lives. And this yere also dyed Sir Edward Powninges, knight of the Gartier, sir Jhon Pechy, and sir Edwarde Belknap valiaunt capitaynes, whiche were suspected to be poysoned, at a banket made at Arde, when the two kinges met last.

This yere also, was not wythout Pestilence nor Derth of Corne, for Whete was sold this yere in the citie of London, for xx.s. a quarter, and in other places, for xxvi.s. viii.d. And in the same yere in December, died Leo bishop of Rome, for whom was chosen, one Adrian born at Utrike, the Emperors schole maister, and in the same moneth Gawan Doglas bishop of Dunkel in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albany was arrived into Scotland, and had taken upon him to be governor of the kyng and the realme, to whom the kyng assygned an honest pencyon to lyve on. But when the kyng was advertised that the Duke of Albany was arryved into Scotland, and had taken the rule of the young king, his realme,

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realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, consideryng the Duke to be heire apparant to the croune of Scotland: wherfore he sent Clarenseaux kinge of Armes into Scotland, and wyth commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albany, that his pleasure was, that he should depart the realm of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French king, at the last meting, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the kyng of England was uncle to the kyng of Scottes, and by the very bond of nature, ought to defende his nephew. Wherefore hys nephew beyng young, and in the custody of him to whom, if he should dye, the realme of Scotlande should discende, he doubted lest he might be brought out of the way, as other dukes of Albany before had served the heires of Scotlande: and if he would not avoyde Scotlande, then Clarenseaux was commaunded to defie hym, which accordyngly did defie hym, at holy Rode house in Edenbrough, to whome he answered, that neyther the French king, nor the kyng of Englande, should let hym to come into his naturall countrey, by theyr agrement: also as towching the young king, he sayd, that he loved him as his sovereigne lord, and him would kepe and protect, against al other.

When Clarenseaux had reported his answere to the king, then he knewe wel that al this was the French kinges doynge, wherefore he provyded in all thinges accordingly. The Earle of Anguishe of Scotland that had maryed lady Margaret, the king our sovereigne lordes sister, late wyfe unto kyng James of Scotland, that was slain at Floddon felde, was by the Duke of Albany, sente by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arryvyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and his brother like wyse, which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the vi. day of Marche, the French kyng commaunded all Englyshmennes goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put under a reste: and likewyse deteyned the kynges trybute, whyche he shoulde have out of Fraunce, and also the French quenes dowry, and when the kyng sent to him for it, he ever gave faire woordes, and made delaies, but none was payed, and ever the Ambassador promised fayre.

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THE king this yere kept the daye of saynt George with great solempnitie, at his manour of Richemond, where wer elect to the ordre of the Gartier Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperor, and Archduke of Oystrycke, and sir Richard Wingfeld, knight by the Emperors meanes, to the which the Emperor had geven two hundred pound pencion out of the house of Burgoin, which sir Edward Pouninges before had of the Emperors gyft. Duryng this war betwene the Emperor and the French King, and the Kyng of Englande liyng still an entreator betwene them, the Englishmen wer robbed on both sydes, and when their wines were laden at Burdeaux, and redy to depart, it was attached, and the Merchauntes put in prison: the poore fishermen on the coast of England sometyme met wyth the Frenchmen and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Merchauntes of England, that had factors at Burdeaux, complayned to the King of England, and shewed hym how the French king, contrary to his league and his safeconduyte under hys seal, by hys people, had taken their goodes, and emprisoned their factors and frendes, and can have no remedy. Likewise complained all the Merchauntes, how their shippes were restrayned, in every porte of Fraunce, and their goodes rifeled, and could have no redresse. The king and his counsail, were sory to here the complaintes of the merchauntes, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Ambassadours, to whom the Cardinal sayd: sir how is this chaunce happened? you have promised ever in the name of the kyng your Maister, that all leagues, promises and covenauntes should be kept, and that full restitucion should bee made of everye hurt and dammage, and that ferme peace and amitie shoulde be kept: but contrary to your saiyng, our Merchauntes be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he hath graunted his safeconduyte, yet they be robbed, and stayed at Burdeaux, is this the peace that you and your Maister hath promised to be kept? is this the amitie that he was sworne to kepe? Is this the word of a king? Is thys the strength of a prince, to breake hys safeconduyt?

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safeconduyt? And wher you advised our merchantes to sue in Fraunce for restitucion, and dyd warrant them to be restored, you have put them to coste and losse, for thei have sued there longe and spent their goodes wythout any redresse, and now you have emprisoned them, and kept both them and their goods, is this justice? is this restitucion? And all this was youre procurement, and now se what is come of your promyse, surely thys may not be suffered, and besyde this the kyng is enformed, that the kyng your Maister had spoken by hym, foule and opprobrious wordes, yea, in the hearynge of the Englishmen whyche were sore greved to hear such wordes, and were not so able to be revenged.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce sayd, that it was not so as it was reported: wel sayed the Cardinall, yf you note the counsayll of Englande so lyght, as to tel fables, you be misavised, but I pray you how often times hath the kyng written to your Maister, for the restitucion of such roberies as hath be done, and yet can have no redresse? Wherefore he graunted letters of marcke, which may stand wyth the league, but Monsire Chastilion hath taken Merchauntes of Englande prysoners, and hath sent certain hether for their raunsome, this is open war and no peace. Maister President Polliot or Pulteyne the Frenche Ambassador, answered, that surely the matters which wer alleged against his maister the French king, were but forged matters and not true: but he sayed that for a truthe, daily in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made againste the Englishemen, for greate robberies done by them, aswell on land as on sea, affirmyng it to be done in the Emperors querel, and yet the French kynge for the love he beareth to England letteth his subjectes to be unhard, although he dayly lament the great injury, done to hym and his subjectes by Englyshmen: and therfore my lord I pray you, beleve not such tales, tyl I have tolde you the truthe.

Then the Cardinal called the foure hostages, that lay here for the payment of money for Turney, and they four were delivered, to my lord of sainct Jhones, to sir Thomas Lovel, to sir Andrewe Windsore, and to sir Thomas Nevell, every knight one to kepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them prively, and the Ambassador was commaunded to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence,

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presence, till he was sent for, whiche ordre sore abashed the French hostages, and thambassador, but ther was no remedy, and commaundement was geven to the Maior at London, to attache al the Frenchmen body and goodes, and them to kepe in prison, til he hard farther of the kynges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and aboute, arrested and brought to prison, so that al the prisons in and aboute London, wer full of them, some of them escaped by speakyng Dutch, and sayd they wer Fleminges borne, whiche was not tryed.

The king for safegard of his Merchauntes, sent xxviii. goodly shippes to the sea, wel manned and trimmed for the warres, and seven other shippes he sent towarde Scotland, whych entered the Frith, and proferred to enter into the Scottysh shippes that lay in the haven, but the Scottes ran their shippes on land, and the Englishmen folowed wyth boates and landed, and set the shippes on fire, and at Lith toke certain prisoners, whych they brought into Englande, and stil the kynges great navie kept the narrowe seas, for then was neither peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, nor open warre as you have hearde.

The king had perfect knowledge, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kinges toune at Calice the xxiii. day of May, to passe thorow Englande into Spain, wherfore the kyng sent the Marques Dorcet, accompaignied with diverse knightes and gentlemen, to receyve hym at Calice, which in al hast sped them thether. Lykewyse the Cardinall toke his jorney toward Dover the xx. day of Maye, and rode throughe London, accompaignied wyth two Erles xxxvi. Knightes, and an hundred Gentlemen, eyght Bishoppes, ten Abbottes, thirty Chapelleines all in velvet and Sattin, and yomen seven C. and so by jorneing he came to Dover the xxvi. day beyng Monday. In the meane season tidinges wer brought to the kyng, that the French kyng had sent a great army toward Calice, and the men of war lay at Abvile, Munstrell, Bulleyn, and about, nere the Englysh pale. Wherefore the kynge lyke a Prynce that forsawe all, and entending not to be disceived, wrote to his nobles and cities and tounes, to prepare certayne menne of war in a readines which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the navie, so that thei might shortly be at Calice yf nede required.

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On Sundaye the xxv. daye of Maye, the lorde Marques Dorset, the bishop of Chichester, and the lorde de Lawar, with other noble men, at the water of Graveling, received the Emperor in the name of the kynge of England, and so the Emperor embraced theim, and he having in his compaignie many noble men, came toward Calice, wher at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was received of sir Edward Guylford Marshall of Calice, wyth fyftie menne of armes richly besene, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receyved wyth procession, and then by the lord Barne deputie there, and the counsayll of the toune: then was he received by the Maior and Aldermen of the toune, and then of the Maior and Merchauntes of the Staple, and so conveighed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Monday, he and al the nobles of Spain, Flaunders, and Germany, toke ship at Calice and landed at Dover, at foure of the Clocke at after none, and with him the Duke Dalvoy, the Prince of Orenge, the Countie Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the lord Ogmond, and the Marques of Brandenbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinal received hym on the Sandes, accompaygnyed with thre hundred Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of England: Theemperor embrased the Cardinall, and tooke hym by the arme, and so passed forward, and toke horses and rode together to Dover Castle, wher thei wer lodged. Thenglish Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperors train, every man according to hys degree. The kyng of England was come to Cantorbury, the xxvii. day of May, and received by the Archbishop: and hearynge of the Emperors arrival, wyth a smal compaignie on the Wednesday, beyng the Assension even, he rode to Dover, and with muche joye and gladnes the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday, the kinge brought the Emperoure aborde on hys newe shyp, called the Henry grace a dieu, a shyppe of xv. C. and rowed about to all hys greate shippes, whych then lay in Dover rode, the Emperor and his lordes, muche praised the makyng of the shyppes, and especially the artilerie, they sayed, they never sawe shippes so armed.

The same day at after none, the two noble princes marched forward to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen received

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received them without the toune, with a solempne oracyon, to whom the Emperors secretary answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swerdes borne naked before theim, and the Emperour on the ryght hand, entered the citie of Cantorbury, and so with procession were brought to Christes Church where the Archebishop and twelve prelates mitered, receyved them under a Canapy, and so they offered to the Sacrament, and the Emperour was brought to the Bishoppes palace, where he lay for that night, and the kyng lodged at S. Augustynes. The morowe after, these princes removed to Sytyngborne, and the next day to Rochester, wher the Bishop receyved them with the whole Covent, and on Mondaye thei came to Gravesende by one of the Clocke, where they toke their Barges, and ther were thirty Barges appoynted, for the straungiers, and so by vi. of the clocke they landed at Grenewiche, the same Monday, the ii. day of June, where the Emperour was of the kyng newly welcommed, and al his nobilitie, and at the hal doore the Quene and the Prynces, and all the Ladies receyved and welcommed hym: and he asked the Quene blessing (for that is the fashyon of Spain, betwene the Aunte and the Nephew) the Emperor had great joye to se the Quene hys Aunte, and in especyall his young cosyn Germain the lady Mary. The Emperor was lodged in the kinges lodging, whiche was so richely hanged, that the Spanyardes wondered at it, and specially at the rych cloth of estate: nothyng lacked that might be gotten, to chere the Emperor and his Lordes, and al that came in his compaignie, were highly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to do the Emperor pleasure, was prepared a Justes royall: on the one part was the kinge, the erle of Devonshire and x. more compaignions, al mounted on horsbacke, their apparell and bardes, were of rich Cloth of golde, embroudered wyth sylver letters, very ryche, with great plumes on their heades. This compaignie tooke the felde, and rode aboute the tilt: then entered the Duke of Suffolke, and the Marques Dorset, and x. with them barded, and their apparell was russet velvet, embroudered wyth sundery knottes, and culpyns of golde. The Emperor and the Quene, with al the nobles stode in the galery, to behold the doyng. The king ran at the Duke of Suffolke viii. courses, and at every course brake his

his spere. Then every man ran his courses and that done, all ranne together volant, as faste as they could discharge, and when the speres appointed were broken, then they disarmed and went to supper. After supper, the Emperor beheld the ladies daunces, and sodainly came to the chamber, sixe noble men, appareled in Crimosin velvet and cloth of golde, and a mantell of Taffeta, rolled about their bodies, and hoddes and bonettes of cloth of gold, on their heddes, and velvet buskyns on their legges: these Maskers entred and daunced a great while wyth the ladies, and sodainly entred syx other Maskers with drumslades, appareled in long gounes, and hoddes of cloth of gold, of whych nomber was the kyng, the duke of Suffolke, the prince of Orenge, the countie of Nassow, the countie of Naveray, and Monsire Egremond. When these maskers wer entred, the other avoyded, and then thei toke ladies and daunsed, so that the straungiers much praised them: and when the time came, every person departed to their lodgyng.

Thursday, they that Justed the other daye, appoynted themselfs to Tornay, and as the kyng was armyng him, there came to him one George Luffkin and shewed him, that there was one come from his Ambassador in Fraunce, the king called for the messenger, and delivered his letters, which the king red, and said to syr William Compton, tel the Emperor that I have newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: Sir William Compton went and told this to the Emperoure, which without delay came to the kyng, whych shewed him the letters from sir Thomas Cheiney his Ambassador, wherin was conteyned the definitive answer made aswel to sir Thomas Cheyney, as to Clarenseaux king of armes of Englande, by the French kynge, to the kinges requestes: for you shall understand, that the kyng of Englande by hys Ambassador, had often times demaunded, both his trybute and hys lawful debte, and also restitucyon to be made to his subjectes greved, and farther also the league was broken, by makyng warre on themperor, so that now by the league the kyng of Englande should be enemy, to him that first brake, and did take part wyth the other, yet he had so much compassion, on sheding of Christen bloud, that he would not enter warre, but shew him self a mediator and an entreator betwene them. And upon thys sir Thomas Cheney had often moved the French kyng,

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kyng, and also moved him to take peace with the Emperor for two yeres, so that some mediacion of peace might be entreated, in the meane season: to all this the French king answered we have wel considered your Maisters desire, to the which we nothinge agree, nor hold us content wyth his request. Sir said thambassador, the kyng my Maister shalbe advertysed of your answere by me, wherfore I besech your grace of safeconduit, to returne into England: then sayd the kyng, there is an officer of armes come hether out of Englande, let him come and he shalbe hard, and have an answere, to which thing Sir Thomas Cheney answered not, but wyth reverence departed, and so on the xxi. daie of Maie, the said officer called Clarenseaux king of armes, came to the French kinges chamber at Lions, which was accompaignied with many noble men and gentlemen, and then Clarenseaux put on his cote of armes, and desired license to speake, and libertie according to the law of armes, which was to him graunted: then he declared that where the French kinge was bound by league tripertite, to kepe peace with the Emperor, and with the king of England, and whosoever first brake, the other two to be enemies to hym, to the which league the French king was sworne, whiche league he apparantly had broken, by making warre on Themperor, by syr Robert de la Marche, and by hym selfe in persone. Wherfore the kinge by that league muste bee hys enemie, and take parte agaynst hym.

Also he declared, that the French king kept away the kinges rentes, and debtes, dew to him. Also that he deteyned the dower of the French quene. Also that contrary to his promyse, he had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrarye to Justice he had emprisoned Merchantes, having his safeconduite, where they should have gone in safty seyng there was no warre proclaimed, betwene him and the kyng his maister: al these articles with many mo, the kyng my maister is ready to prove. Nay said the French kyng, I began not the war, nor sent Robert Lamarche to make warre, but commaunded him to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, and he had oure toune of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the Duke of Albany, it hath cost me xl. M. Frankes, to kepe him out of Scotland, but I could not let hym to go into his owne countrey. Thys

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the French kynge excused his untruth. Sir I am farther charged to tell you, said Clarenseaux that the king my sovereigne lord, holdeth you for his mortal enemie this day furth, and al your adherentes: wel sayd the French king, I loked for this a great while agone, for sith the Cardinall was at Bridges, I loked for no nother, but you have done your message: then the French king rose and departed, and Clarenseaux was conveighed to his lodgyng, and shortly after, sir Thomas Cheyney and he, by safeconduyt, departed and came to Bulleyn, and there Monsire Fayet capitain there, theim both staied til the Ambassador of Fraunce, whiche had lien in England, wer clerely delyvered out of Calice. The whole circumstaunce of the demaundes and defiaunce, and the French kinges aunswere, was conteined in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Emperor (as you have hard) but while the king and the Emperor loked on the letter, a sodein noise rose emongest both their subjectes, that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them bothe by the French king, whych was nothing so. Thus now was the warre open of al parties, betwene Englande and Fraunce, and Spain. When the two princes had of this matter commoned their fill, themperor called for a horse, and the king himself was armed, and bothe the bendes that should Tournay, mounted on horsebacke, and themperor in rich apparell of tissew and richly trapped brought the king into the felde, and toke up hys horse, that all men had great pleasure to beholde him. The men of armes fel to Turnay, and brake swerdes and wer severed, and after came together agayn, and fought very valiauntly, and when tyme was, the Herauldes cryed the disarme, and assone as the king was unarmed the Emperor and he went to supper, and after supper, the kyng brought the Emperor into the hal where was a Cupperd of xii. stages, al set wyth great mightie plate al of golde, at the upper end honge thre clothes of estate, and the hall was ful of great lyghtes, set on gylt braunches.

When the two Princes were set, and the Quene also, then entered in eight noble menne, in Maskers apparell with visers, their garmentes blacke Velvet, garded and embroudered wyth golde in cut workes and over that double Lumberdy Mantelles of Sattin, folded up on every shulder, curiously embroudered, these Maskers were halfe English Lordes,

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Lordes, and the other straungiers. They toke Ladies and daunsed, and sodainly entered eight other Maskers, apparelled in rych tinsel, matched wyth clothe of golde, and on that Turkey Clokes, rebanded wyth Nettes of Silver, and betwene the knittinges Flowers of Golde, and the Mantelles were Crimosin Sattin, both the Maskers had hoddes of Crymosyn Sattyn, these lustie Maskers entered, and reveled lustely, and when they had done, then were the spices brought and wyne, and then al persones began to draw to reste.

On Friday, the sixt day of June, the king and the Emperour, wyth all their compaignies marched toward London, where in the waye a Myle from Sainct Georges Barre, was set a ryche Tent of Cloth of golde, in whyche tente were two lodgynges, one for the Emperoure, and another for the kyng, where these two Princes shifted theim. And when the Heraulde had appointed every man their roume, then every man set forwarde in ordre, rychlye apparelled in Clothe of Golde, Tyssew, Silver, Tinsell, and Velvettes of all coloures. There lacked no massye Cheynes, nor curyous Collers: an Englyshe manne and a straungier roade ever together, matched accordinge to their degrees, before the Emperoure and the kinge, were borne two swordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of cloth of golde, embraudered with sylver, bothe of one suite: after theim folowed the Kynges Henxmenne, in Coates of Purple Velvet, pieled and paned wyth rych Cloth of silver, and with them were matched the Emperours Henxemenne, in equall nomber, in Coates of Crimosyn Velvet, with two gardes, the one golde, and the other silver: then folowed the Capitaynes of the Gardes, then the Emperours Gard on the right hande, and the Englishe Garde on the left hande, and so in this ordre they wente forwarde, and in the waye the Maior Jhon Milborne and hys brethren, in fyne Skarlet and well horssed, met wyth the Emperour and the king where one sir Thomas More knight, and well learned, made to theim an eloquent Oracion, in the praise of the two princes, and of the peace and love betwene them, and what comfort it was to their subjectes, to se theim in such amitie, and how that the Maior and Citezens, offered any pleasure of service that in them laye, next their sovereigne lorde.

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, wher the Clergie received theim, in Copes, with Crosses, and Sensers,

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Sensers, and so kepte the one syde of the strete, al the citie throughe. When they came by the Marshalsie at the kinges Benche, the Emperoure desired pardon of the kyng, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours requeste, pardoned a great nomber of theim. When they were almoste at the Brydge foote there was a staye, the kyng demaunded the cause, and it was told hym that the Herauldes had appoynted two gentlemen to ryde together, one was the Ambassadour from the Marques of Mantua, to the Emperour, and the other from the Citie of Seines, to the Emperour also and the Citie and the Marques were not frendes, the Emperour incontinent, sent his Lord Chamberlayne to theim, saiynge: that yf they woulde that daye do him honour, he would thanke theim, and yf they woulde not ryde as they were appointed, he prayed them to departe. When the lorde Chamberlayne had told this message, they rode furth and made no more curtesye.

When they wer come to the Drawe Bridge, ther were set Targettes, of the Armes of the Emperour and his Dominions, rychly paincted, and on the other syde, stode one great Giaunt, representynge Hercules, wyth a myghty Clubbe in hys hand, and on the other syde stode another Giaunte, representyng Sampson, wyth the Jawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These twoo Gyauntes helde a greate Table, in the whyche was wrytten in Golden letters, all the Emperours Style. From the Drawe Bridge these two Princes passed, to the myddes of the Bridge, where was raised a faire edifice, wyth Towers embattailed and gates, al lyke Masonrye, of Whyte and Blacke, lyke Touche and Whyt Merbell: above this buildinge was a faire pagiaunt, in the whych stoode Jason all in harneys, havyng before hym a golden Flece, and on the one syde of hym stode a fiery Dragon, and on the other side stode two Bulles whiche beastes cast out fyer continually, and in a tower on the one side stode a fayre mayde representyng the lady Medea whiche was very straungely and rychely appareled, and above this Pagiant were written these verses.

Leticiæ quantum mimiis prebebat, Iason
Aurea Phrixee vellera nactus ovis
Leticiæ quantum tulerat Pompeius et urbi
Hoste triumphato Scipio Romulidum
Tantum tu nobis Cæsar mitissime Princeps
Intrans Henrici Principis hospicium

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When they had beholden this Pagiant they came to the Conduite at Gracious strete where was made a Bastyle with two great gates, one on the one syde of the way and the other on the other side, and over these gates and betwene these gates were made iii. great towers embattailed and vauted with lopes Lucanes lyke Masonry, curiously wrought, and in the middle tower was a clothe of estate, under whiche sat one representyng the Emperor, and in the third tower representyng the kyng. And Charlemayne havyng ii. swordes gave to the Emperor the sworde of Justice, and to the kyng the sworde of triumphant victory, and before hym sat the Pope to whom he gave the croune of thorne and thre nayles. About this pagiant were sette all the armes of the electors of thempyre and these verses in a table.

Carole Christigenum decus et quem scripta loquntur
A magno ductum Carolo habere genus
Tuque Henrice pia virtutis laude refulgens
Doctrina ingenio religione fide
Vos pretor consul sanctus cum plebe senatus
Vectos huc fausto sydere gestit ovans

This Pagiant was made by the Esterlynges.

From Gracious strete where the Esterlinges stode in good order, the two princes came to Leden halle wher overthwart the great strete that leadeth to Bishoppes gate was erected a goodly Pagiant wonderfull curiously wrought, it was xxxviii. fote broade and lxxx. of length, at the fote of the pagiant sat Jhon duke of Lancastre called Jhon of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the third. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leaves whiche by pollicie dropped swete water, and on every braunche satte a kyng and a quene or some other noble parsonage descended of the sayd duke to the nomber of lv. images, and on the toppe stode the Emperor, the kyng of England and the Quene, as thre in the vi. degree from the sayd Duke. This pagiant was made at the cost of the Italyans and was much praised. From thence they passed to the Conduite in Cornehill where the strete was enclosed from side to side with ii. gates to open and shitte, and over the gates wer arches with towers embattailed set with vanes and scutchions of the armes of the Emperor and the kyng, and over the arches were two towers, the one full of Trompettes and the other full of Shalmes and shagbuttes whiche played continually:

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continually: Betwene these two towers was a place, under a riche clothe of estate sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table and was served with x. kynges, Dukes and erles all bearyng Targettes of their armes, and when the Emperor and the kyng were commyng thether a Poet sayd.

Laudant magnanimos urbs inclita Roma Catones
Cantant Hannibalem punica regna suum
Gentis erat Soli me rex ingens gloria David.
Gentis Alexander gloria prima sue
Illustrat fortes Arthuri fama Britannos
Illustras gentem Cæsar & ipse tuam
Cui deus imperium victo precor hoste secundet
Regnet ut in terris pacis amica quies

When this was sayd, they came to the Stockes where was a quadrant stage where on was an Herber full of Roses, Lyllies and all other flowers curiously wrought, and byrdes, beastes and all other thynges of pleasure. And aboute the Herber was made the water full of Fyshe, and about it was the Elementes, the Planettes and Starres in their places and every thyng moved, and in a type in the toppe was made the Trinitie with the Angels singyng, and the Trinitie blessed the kyng and the Emperor, and under his feete, was written, *behold the lover of peace and concorde.* And so they passed through the Poultry to the great Conduite in Chepe, where was made on the right hand of the sayd Conduite (as they passed) in maner quadrant with fower towers, at every corner one with goodly types, betwene every tower was a gallery, whiche galeries were hanged with clothes of golde and silver within, and so covered over. The forefrontes of every gallery were hanged with white and grene Sarcenet wrethed and with great knottes of golde, let doune in maner of a valence before the gallery, and under the sayd galleries were Targettes and schutchions of the Emperors and kynges armes and devyses. In the fower towers were fower fayre ladyes for the cardinall vertues so richely besene that it was great pleasure to behold, every vertue havyng a signe and token of her propertie. In the galleries sat chyldren mixed with men and women singyng and plaiyng on instrumentes melodiously, of the whiche sort one child sayd these verses folowyng.

Quanto amplexetur populus te Cæsar amore
Testantur variis gaudia mixta sonis

Aera,

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Aera, tube, Litui, cantus cithare calamisque
Consona te resonant organa disparibus
Unum te celebrant, te unum sic cuncta salutant
O decus, O rerum gloria Cæsar ave.

When they came to the standard there was made a mightie buildyng of tymber with towers set in carbles forced with arches buttand and al abilimentes embossed, and the lynterelles inhaunsed with pillers quadrant and the vautes in orbes with crobbes dependyng and monsters bearyng up the pillers and in the roffe was a lower swelling, in the top wherof was a banner of the armes of Spayne and Engeland and all the pagiant full of scutchions of armes of the ii. princes. At the fote of this pagiant sat Alphons kyng of Spayne richely apparelled, and out of his brest a braunche of whiche sprang many kynges, quenes and princes whiche satte and were lively persones richely apparelled every one with a scutchion of armes shewyng their mariages, and in the highest braunce satte the Emperor, the kyng and just v. and vii. degrees from the sayd kyng of Spayne, to whom the sayd kyng Alphons sayd these verses.

Carole qui fulges sceptro & diademate sacro
Tuque Henrice simul stemmata juncta gerens
Alter germanis, lux alter clara britannis
Miscens Hispano sanguine uterque genus
Vivite felices quot vixit secula Nestor
Vivite cumane tempora fatidice

After this pagiant seen and the verses sayd, they came to the litle Conduite in Chepe where was buylded a place lyke heaven curiously painted with cloudes, erbes, starres and the Ierarchies of angels, in the top of this pagiant was a great type and out of this type sodainly issued out of a cloude a fayre Lady richely apparelled, and then all the minstrels whiche wer in the pagiant played and the angels sang, and sodainly agayne she was assumpted into the cloud whiche was very curiously done, and aboute this pagiant stode the Apostles wherof one sayd these verses.

Ob quorum adventum tocies gens ipsa britanna
Supplex diis superis vota preterque dedit
Quos ætas omnis, pueri, juvenesque, senesque
Optarunt oculis sepe videre suis
Venistis tandem auspicio Christi Marieque
Pacis conjuncti fœdere perpetuo.
Heroes salvete pii, salvete beati
Exhilarant nostros minima vestra lares

Yet

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Yet you must not forget for all the pagiantes how the Citezens well apparelled stode with in railes sette on the left side of the stretes and the clergie on the right side in riche copes, which sensed the princes as they passed and all the stretes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, silver, velvet and Arras, and in every house almooste Mynstrelsy, and in every strete were these two verses written in letters of gold.

Carolus, Henricus, vivant defensor uterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie

Whiche verses wer also written in other tables in golden letters as ensueth.

Long prosperitie
To Charles and Henry Princes moste puissant.
The one of fayth
The other of the Churche Chosen defendant.

When they were past the lytle Conduite they came to the West ende of Poules churche and there they alighted, and there was a Canapie redy under whiche they two stoode and were received by the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury and xxi. prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high aulter and returned to horsebacke and came to the Blacke Friers where the Emperor was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Brydewell, out of the whiche was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, whiche gallery was very long, and that gallery and all other galleries there wer hanged with Arras. The kynges palayce was so richely adorned of all thynges that my witte is to dull to descrive theim or the riches of the hangynges or the sumptuous buildyng and giltyng of chambers.

On saterday the kyng and the Emperor playd at tennice at the Bayne agaynst the princes of Orenge and the Marques of Brandenborow, and on the Princes syde stopped the Erle of Devonshyre and the lorde Edmond on the other syde, and they departed even handes on bothe sydes after xi. games fully played.

On Whitsonday the viii. day of June themperor and the kyng with great honor both apparelled in cloth of silver reysed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white eccept their bonettes, roade to the Churche of saint Paule and there heard high Masse whiche was song by the Cardinall which

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which had his travers and cupborde, and before Masse ii. Barons gave him water and after the Gospell ii. Erles, and at the last lavatory ii. Dukes whiche pride the Spanyardes sore disdayned. When Masse was done they returned to Brydewell where the Emperor was highly feasted. The same sonday at afternoone the two princes went by water to Westminster and roade to the churche, and in ridyng all the sanctuary menne cryed mercye and pardon, they were so hastye and presed so nere that the sergeauntes at armes could scace kepe theim from touchyng the Emperor and the kyng: The Cardinall gave them a gentle answere whiche contented theim for a tyme. They wer receyved with Procession into the Abbey and heard evensong and beheld kyng Henry the seventhes chapel and then went into Westminster halle, at the largenesse wherof the Emperor muche mervayled, then they turned to Brydewell and there supped.

On Monday they dyned in Southwarke with the duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and roade to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton court, where they had great chere and from thence on thursday to Wyndsore wher he hunted Fryday and Saterday and on Sonday at night in the great halle was a disguisyng or play, theffect of it was that there was a proud horse which would not be tamed nor brideled, but amitie sent prudence and pollicie which tamed him, and force and puyssaunce brideled him. This horse was ment by the Frenche kyng, and amitie by the king of England and themperor, and the other prisoners were their counsail and power, after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of xii. men and xii. women, the men had on garmentes of clothes of golde and silver lose layde on crimosyn Satten, knit with pointes of golde, bonettes, whoddes, buskins, all of golde. The ladies were in the same suite whiche was very riche to behold, and when thei had daunced, then came in a costly banket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodgyng.

Monday, tewsday, and wednesday the princes and their counsail sat moste parte in counsail, and on *Corpus Christi* day, they with great triumph rode to the collage of Wyndsore where the Emperor ware his Mantle of the Garter and satte in his owne stall, and gave to the Herauldes

CC. crounes: that day bothe the princes received the Sacrament, and after Masse bothe sware to kepe the promyses and league eche to other, for the which amitie great joy was made on both parties, and after that Masse was ended thei went to dyner, where was great feasting. THE XIIII. YERE [1522-23]

On fryday they departed out of Wyndsore, and by easy jorneys came to Wynchester the xxii. day of June, and in the way thether, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, therle of Surray Admyrall of England with all the kynges Navy was come to Hampton, and with him the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, syr Gyles Capell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Richard Jernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, Jhon Russell, of whiche many were of the kynges prevy chamber: These with many more departed from Hampton with xxx. shippes well manned and ordinaunced in the ende of June, noisyng that they should onely skoure the seas for savegard of the Emperor and his Navye: But they had privy instruccions to go to another place as you shall heare after.

All this while was the warre on the parties of Picardy hotte, and the capitaine of Bullain called Fayet wrote ever mockyng letters to the garison of Calice, and sayd: yf the garison of Calayce would issue out, he would mete with theim halfe way with iiii. M. men. Wherupon sir Edward Guildforde Marshall of Calayce, whom the capitaine of Bullain called the fyrebrand, because it was his badge, sette furth out of Calayce the xi. day of June with xii. C. men and went out of Calayce and sent a pursivant to the capitayn of Bullain certifiyng hym that he was commyng with his fyerbrand, and bad hym kepe promise. This officer declared the message to hym, but he came not: Furth marched sir Edward til he came to Marguison and taryed to see whether the capitayn of Bullayne would come or no, and when he sawe he came not, he set fyer in the toune, and the light horsemen forrayed the beastes and pillage, and brent vyllages all about, whiche was wel perceived in the countrey a farre of, and towarde night all the crew came home with good pillage, and on the morow sir Edwarde Gyldford delivered a prisoner franke and free, on condicion he should tell the capitaine of Bullain that he had bene at Marguison with his fyerbrand, whiche truely did his message, for the whiche the capitaine

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capitaine brake hys head: all the castels and fortresses in the Englishe pale were well manned and vitailed and lacked no artillerie, so that the Frenchemen could do theym no harme.

When the Emperor and the kyng laye at Byshops Walthan they joyntly sent letters of defiaunce to the Duke of Loraine, as alye and confederate with the Frenche kyng. The fyrst day of July the Emperors navy sailed before Hampton, which wer C.lxxx. goodly shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leave of the kyng and had great gyftes geven him and muche money lent to him, and so the vi. day of July he toke his shippe, so with all his Navy he made sayle towarde Spayne where he arived in savetie the x. day after.

The kyng about this very tyme sent to the citie of London to borow xx. M. poundes, whiche sore chafed the citizens, but the somme was promised, and for the payment the Mayer sent for none but for men of substaunce. Howbeit the craftes solde muche of their plate. This summe was payed, and the kyng sent his letter promisyng payment of the same and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were contented with this payment and sayd, let the riche churles pay, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through al the realme, and privy seales delivered for the repayment of the same.

This season the xxi. day of Maye was the citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors capitain called *Octaviano de Columna*, whiche had with hym iiii. M. and iiii. C. Spaniardes, v. M. Italyans, and iiii. M. Lanceknightes: and in the citie was taken *Porter de Navarro* the Frenche kynges familiar capitaine and all the lordes of Geane whiche favored the Frenche kyng were taken prisoners or slayne, and especially one *Octaviano Faragoso*, whiche ruled there for the Frenche kyng, was evil punished: The spoyle of the citie that the souldiers had, was iiii. M. dukates beside the pillage, whiche was a great thyng.

Now let us returne to the lorde Admyrall of Englande whiche departed from Hampton as you have heard, and so with his Navy sayled and skoured the seas, and at last came on the costes of Brytaigne, and commaunded the wysest Masters and Marriners to boy the heaven of Morles, whiche was done, and so the next night all the flete came to the haven

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haven of Morles in safetie and moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnes and to avaunce their standardes, and all souldiers to geve their attendance on their capitaines, and then the lorde Admyrall appointed and caused xiiii. pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons to be brought to land and drawen furth with strength of men. Then when all menne that should go forwarde were landed, the lorde Admyral with banner displayed tooke lande on the Estside of the haven the fyrst day of Julye, and with hym a fayre band of souldiers, as the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Richard Wyngfelde, sir Richard Jernyngham, sir Wyllyam Batantine, sir Adrian Foskew, sir Edwarde Donne, sir Edwarde Chamberlayne, Fraunces Bryan, Richard Cornewall, sir Anthony poynes, sir Henry Sherborne, and the vice Admyrall, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, sir Edmond Bray, sir Gyles Capel, sir Willyam Pyrton, sir Jhon Cornewalles, sir Jhon Wallop, sir Edward Echyngham, sir Willyam Sidnay, Anthony Broune, Gyles Huse, Thomas More, Jhon Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Lovell, Robert Jernyngham, Anthony Knevit, sir Jhon Tremaile, and the Master of the kynges ordinaunce, sir Willyam Skevyngton, and Jhon Fabian serjeant at armes, by whom this enterprise was chefly moved as was reported, with many other gentlemen and souldiers, to the nombre of vii. M. The lorde Admyrall and sir Richard Wyngfeld brought these men in good order of battaill, and caused Christopher Morres the master gunner to see all thinges redy prepared, and then about viii. of the clocke the sayd fyrst day they marched towarde Morles in good ordre of battail with banners displayed. The *alarme* rose in the countrey and came to the toune of Morles wherby the gentlemen of the countrey shewed theimselfes prickyng, but when they heard the Gunes they fledde as though they never used warre. They of Morles armed theimselfes and went to the walles and shut the gates and laide ordinaunce where was moste jeopardie. The Englishemen had gone five long myle and were now come to the subberbes of the toune: then the Englishemen archers shot, and the Brytons them defended: then the Admyrall commaunded the toune to be assauted, then the lord Fitz Water and the Baron Curson quartered the toune on all sides:

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sides: The Englishemen shot with long bowes, and the Brytons with crosse bowes, whiche defended themselfes manfully. Before the port Morvet where is a *Meason de dieu*, at this gate gave the assaut sir Richard Wyngfelde, Nycholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, sir Jhon Wallop and all their bendes havyng with theim thre pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons, whiche the master Gunner of tymes shot, but the Britons had set the gate full of hacbushes, then the gunner sayd, have at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let us entre the gate, the gentlemen assented, then the sayd sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the sayd Christopher and the other forenamed gentlemen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open and entred, and the gentlemen folowed, the Brytons defended them selfes, but thei were put backe or slaine, then was the great gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the toune. When the Brytons on the walles sawe the towne gotten, some fled at the posterne and some by another way, the best way that they could. Therle of Surray with banner displayed toke the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchauntes, for the toune of Morles was very riche, and specially of lynnen clothe, the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the toune as muche for a trueth or more then they could beare away, the lorde Admirall commaunded the trumpettes to blow, and commaunded all men to set fyer in al places of the toune (the holy places onely except) the fayre market place was set on fyer, and the subburbes brent ardantly. Wherfore all men were commaunded to their standardes, and aboute vi. of the clocke the army retreted, and as they passed they brent the villages and places. And when night approched they drewe together and all that night lay on land abiding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all menne were shipped and fewe or none missed, the lorde admyrall commaunded xvi. or xvii. shippes small and great liyng in the haven to be brent. Then they sayled furth and came to ancker before saint Polle de Lyon, then he commaunded that the foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned

to

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to enter into an harborow for shippes called pympoll or pympole, which was sone done, the boates entred the place and some landed, but then the Brytons were to strong, and so they tooke their boates and bet the Bryttons on the shore, and the Brytons shotte great ordinaunce at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen Brent a shippe of CC. and many small vessels. When tyme came the whole flete sayled into the haven of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entred the haven and toke land, and some Englishmen did so muche that they set fyer in houses nere the castle. And even as thenglishemen sayled by the cost, the Brytons them askryed and fortefied the landyng places, yet dayly the Englishemen skyrmished with the Brytons and came safely to their shippes againe: with this warre was all the duchy of Brytaigne sore troubled.

When the lorde Admirall had wonne the toune of Morles as you have heard: He called to him certaine squyers whom for their hardines and noble courage he made knightes, fyrst sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthony Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas More, sir Gyles Huse, sir Jhon Russell, sir Jhon Raynsford, sir George Cobham, sir Jhon Cornwalles, sir Edward Rigley and divers other. And after he wrote letters to the kyng of his good spede: In the whiche he muche praised all the gentlemen and souldiers for their hardynes. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the kyng that he should retreyte, and so he came withall his fleete under the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the xxi. daye of Julye to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on Mounday the xxiii. day of July the kyng and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sat in counsayle to determine what should be done. After this the kyng dyned with the Cardinall the xxiii. day of Julye, where he rehersed that he had knowlege that the Admyrall of Britaine was in Morles with a C. horsemen and a C. crosbowes, and yet he fedde, and the kyng muche commended the lorde Admyral for his payne and hardynes, and praysed theim of hys garde, and specially fiftie, whiche left pylferyng and never went from the lorde capitaine.

On the third day of July while this enterprise was done at Morles, certaine Frenchemen to the nomber of CCC. horsemen

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horsemen came nere to the castle of Guysnes and kept theim selfe in a close covert and so appered viii. or x. horsemen and came nere Guysnes: out of the Castle came viii. Englishe archers and issued out of the gate and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skyrmishe: to the Frenchemennes reskue came iii. men of armes and skyrmished with the archers whiche were a fote. Then out of Guysnes issued xii. dimilances all Welshemen and ranne boldely to the Frenchemen in reskue of the fotemen. Then the whole bend of Frenchemen issued out and set on the Whelshemen, the fotemen shotte while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welchmen kept themselfes together and entred into the bend of Frenchemen and brake their speres and then fought so with swordes that they made away, so that they escaped from the bend of CCC. horsemen, and of the Frenche men were slayne iii. men and v. horse, the fotemen were overpressed and solde their lives dere, for the Frenchemen slew them al and would take none prisoner, they were so angry with the kyllyng of their horse.

Also the xxv. day of July sir Wyllyam Sandes treasorer of Caleys and sir Edward Guildforde Marshal, with banners spred, issued out of Caleys with xiiii. C. menne and went into the Frenche pale lokyng for Mounsire Foyat whiche was a great mocker and a coward: But when he appeared not they went to Whitsand baye and set it on fyer, and the people fled to the churche whiche was fortified and stode at defence, the body of the churche was wonne and then they toke the steple and some yelded themselfes, but the remnant by counsail of a priest mainteined so long that the Steple was fyred and then the priest cried succour, but it was to late and so the Frenche people was fayne to lepe the Steple and divers perished, and they that were saved wer led to Caleys as prisoners. Farther the xxiii. daye of the same moneth Thwaites a capitaine of an Englishe shippe tooke land beside Bulleyn, and went up thre myle into the countrey to a toune called Newe Castle and forrayed all the countrey and in his returne set fyer on the toune and brent a great part therof maugre the Bullenoys, and with his bowes and men whiche only was vi. score, he put backe lxxx. Haugbushes and CCC. men of warre of the countrey and so came to their shippe with al the botie and

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and lost no man, notwithstandyng they were sore folowed to their shippe.

On the vi. day of July the Cardynall satte in the starre chamber at Westminster where he sayd, my Lordes it is reason that you should know the honorable enterprise done by the lorde Admiral and his compaigny in Brytaigne whiche hath dispoyled and destroyed the great toune of Morles in Brytaigne with all the villages and countrey adjoynyng to the same, whiche is in the Frenche dominion, whiche mischiefe had never risen yf Fraunces the Frenche kyng had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should never retayne the Swyches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not invade any of the Emperors landes or dominions, whiche he hath done, for he hath invaded the countrey of Henaude and Cambrises and taken Heding and Fountraby with many other injuryes. For when the kyng sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Caleys to treate a unitie and peace betwene theim, all our saiynges were by the Frenche kyng turned into a mocquery. Also contrary to hys promyse he hath suffered Duke Jhon of Albany to entre the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong kyng, Nephieu to our soveraigne lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Quene of Scottes contrary to the kynges honor. The sayd Frenche king also witholdeth the kinges dueties and his sisters dower : wherfore of necessitie the kyng is entered into warre, for no prince wyll suffre the wrong that the French kyng offereth hym as an untrue and forsworne prince, wherfore for your owne welth you must now ayde your prince, trustyng to punyshe and chastice hym to your great honor and fame.

Then by commaundement wer all Frenchemen and Scottes imprisoned and the goodes seazed, and all suche as were denizens were commaunded to shewe their letters patentes, and suche as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchemen and Scottes that had maryed Englishe women, the wifes and children had halfe the goodes delivered unto them, and every denizen to fynde suertie for hys good abearyng, and all the other yf they would be bayled to fynde suerties for their trueth and allegeaunce or els to be kept in pryson, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The kyng nowe beyng entered into the warres thought not

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not to slepe and let the Frenche kyng alone, wherfore by his letters he commaunded certain persones with their powers to come to London in August. They that wer appointed came accordyngly, every man with suche a nomber as to him was appointed, and when they had mustered at London before the kynges Commissioners they were nere xii. M. menne with the Poyners, and they were sent to the lorde Admyral whiche lay at Dover with iiii. M. men, but because harvest was not done, the vitayle at Caleys was to litle for so great an armye, wherfore they lay in Kent at tounes there a good space, whiche made vytaile dere there.

In this sommer the lorde Rosse and the lorde Dacres of the North whiche were appointed to kepe the borders agaynst Scotland did so valiantly that they burned the good toune of Kelsy and lxxx. villages and overthrew xviii. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwerkes.

The kyng also in this moneth was credibly enformed that the duke of Albany prepared an army royall of Scottes and Frenchemen to invade England. Wherfore the kyng appointed the Erle of Shrewsbury his lorde Steward to be his Lyeutenaunt generall against the sayd Duke and his invasions, whiche directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshyre and al other beyond Trent that all menne should be in readynes.

The xx. daye of August the Cardynall sent for the Maior, Aldermen and the moste substanciallest commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to theim that the kyng had appoynted commissioners through the whole realme of England for to swere every manne of what value he is in movables, the more to be in readynes for the defence of this realme. And the kyng for the love he beareth you would have syt with you hymselfe, but for certayne other affayres in hys warres to be doone he is letted, and so hath appoynted me your Commissioner. Wherfore in convenient tyme certifye me the nomber of all suche as be worth one hundreth poundes and upwarde, to the intent I may sweare theim of their values: for fyrst the kyng asketh of you your lovyng heartes and due obeysaunce, the whiche shall appeare by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken he desyreth onely the tenth part of goodes and landes whiche is the least reasonable thyng that you can ayde your prince with. I thynke every one of you wyll offer no lesse,

as

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as for the spiritualtie every manne is in the shyres sworne and shall and wyll gladly pay the fowerth part to the kyng and lyve on the iii. partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you wyll not grudge, therfore name me the menne of substaunce and for the meaner sorte, meaner Commissioners shall be appoynted. Syr sayd a marchaunt yf it may please you, how shal this tenth part to the king be delyvered? In money plate or Juels sayd the Cardinall at a value. O my lorde sayd the Aldermen it is not two monethes sithe the kyng had of the Citie xx. thousand pound in ready money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Goddes sake remembre this, that riche marchauntes in ware be bare of money: Well sayd the Cardynall, this must be done and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes and named suche as they judged to be of that value, whiche came before the Cardinall and moste humbly besought hym that they myght not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce, for the true valuacion to theim was unknowen and many honest mennes credence was better than his substaunce, and therfore they doubted the peril of perjury. Well sayde the Cardinall sythe you dread the cryme of perjurye, it is a sygne of grace, and therefore I will for you borowe of the kyng a lytle. Make you your bylles of your owne value likely to report your fame, and then more busynes nedeth not, for you see what two costly armyes the kyng hath ready against bothe Fraunce and Scotland, therfore nowe shewe your selfes lyke lovyng subjectes, for you be able enough. And I dare sweare the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Myllions of golde. Then sayd the citezens we woulde to God that it were so, and the citie is sore appaired by the great occupiyng of straungers. Well sayd the Cardinall it shalbe redressed if I lyve: But on Saterday next I shall appoynt one to receyve your bylles, and he that is of credence more then of substance let hym resorte to me and I will be secrete and good to hym. Thus the Citezens departed in great agony saiyng, that at the last loane some lent the fifth part and nowe to have the tenth part was to muche. And here note well that the x. thousand poundes that was lent was not taken as the xx. of every mannes substaunce, but it should be allowed as part of the x. part, and this valuacion shoulde performe up the whole x. part. Great

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Great was the mournyng of the common people as it is ever in suche cases of paymentes. But in the ende one doctor Tonnys a secretary to the Cardinal came to the Chapiter house of Paules, and to him the citezens brought in their bylles and on their honestie they were received, whiche values afterwarde turned them to displeasure.

The spiritualtie made suite to the lorde Cardinall that no temporall men should sit to examyne them, to be made privy to their possessions and goodes: wherfore bishoppes and Abbottes were appoynted commissioners to take the value of their substaunce.

In this season was great plentie of vitaile sent to Caleys, and to the lorde Admyral were sent Tentes and Pavilions some of lxx. lodgynges for hym and other noble men.

The Friday beyng the xxii. day of August certain Welshemen were lodged at a poore village named Cause, because in Caleys was verye narow lodgyng, and the same night CCCC. Frenchmen passed by Caleys haven for lacke of good watche and came into the same village and set fyer in the house where the Welshemen lay whiche ranne awaye naked into the Marishe and saved themselfes, but their horses wer taken. This chaunce happened for lacke of good watche.

When the lorde Admyrall had brought all his menne out of the shippes and that all the souldiors were come out of Englande and the ordinaunce set on land, then came into Caleys haven xxiiii. shippes out of Spayne from the Emperor whiche set on land CCC. Spanyardes whiche were sent to serve the lorde Admyrall and under hym they were put. When all thinges were ready, the lorde Admyrall set in order his battels and for the forwarde he appoynted sir Robert Ratcleffe, lorde Fitzwater for Capitayne, and with hym divers knightes and gentlemen whiche capitaine kept his men in very good order.

After that battail folowed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vitail and necessaries, and for the capitaine of the horsemen was appointed syr Edward Gylford, by whom the currers and vewers of the countrey were appointed. The myddle warde ledde the lorde Admyrall himselfe, and in his compaignie the lord Edmond Haward his

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his brother, with many worshipfull knightes squiers and tall yomen: The last battail was ledde by twoo valiaunt knightes of the Garter syr Wyllyam Sandes and syr Richard Wyngfelde, and with theim was sir Richard Jernyngham with many other. In good order of battaill they passed over Newnam bridge the xxx. dai of August to a place called Calkewel and their lodged betwene the Wyndmyl and the marrishe.

The same day came to the lorde Admyrall a certain nombre of wilde persones, as menne out of service and apprentises that rann from theyr Masters and other ydle persons, and him desired that they might be retained in the kynges wages, to whom he answered, that the kyng had appointed the nombre of suche as should have wages, which was fully complete, and advised theim to returne into Englande and not to loyter there. Then sayd a tall yoman, my lord here be many good felowes that with your favor would jeopard to get or lose, for their mynde is to be revenged on the Frenchemen enemies to the kyng and his realme. Good felowe sayd the lorde Admirall, theyr myndes be good, but if for lacke of conduite they should be cast awaye, it were a losse to the kynge and a great corage to the Frenchemen. Then al the compaignie cried, let us go in the name of God and sainct George: Then after counsaill taken he gave them a Penon of sainct George and bad them adventure (of whiche they were called adventurers) and farther bad theim that yf they got any botie they should ever bryng it to tharmy, and they should be payde to the uttermost, and then he gave them money and commaunded them weapons and so the sayd xxxi. daye the sayd adventurers iiii. C. in nombre and mo, sette forward before the host, but how thei did, you shall heare afterwarde.

Monday the fyrst day of September the armye removed towarde Guisnes, which day was very hote and drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some died for faintnes, and this night they laye at Guysnes.

Tewsday the second day of September the armye passed towarde Arde: And in the golden Valay where the kyng of Englande and the Frenche kyng met two yeres before, there met with tharmy of England two capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called therle of Egremond the Seneschal of

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of Henaude, and the lorde of Bavers Admyral of Flaunders with v. C. horsemen, like men of warre. The lord Admiral in gentle maner received these two capitaines and their compaignie and so they joyned theimselfes to the Englishe armye, and the same day they tooke lodgyng at Arde south from the toune, where they were wel vitailed, and there lay wednisday all day, and the Burgonyons lay under the castle of Mountorrey. The next day they removed to the vale of Lyekes, and there encamped themselfes. Sir George Cobham the same day with ii. M. men, by the Admiralles commaundement came to thee toune of Selloys and set fyer in the toune, and when the toune was on fyer he assauted the castle. They within made resistence, but it availed not, for the walles were entred and the souldiers taken, and the castle set on fyre, and with gunpouder overthrew the walles: then with hast he removed to a town called Brune bridge and set it on fyer and also brente a toune called Senkerke, and also the tounes of Botyngham and Manstier and so returned to the lord Admirall whiche gave him greate thankes. The Frenchemen appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not reskewe theyr tounes.

On saterday the lord Admirall removed with the whole army too a ground beside saynt Nerbyns and there lay all Sonday beyng the vii. day of Septembre, wher he sent divers compaignies out, which forranged the countreyes and brent many villages as farre as thei might travail the lord Admirall caused the toune of Narbyn to be brent, and tooke thee castle and rased it and utterly destroyed it.

On Monday the viii. day, he removed to Daverne and brente al the tounes as he passed, and liyng there he brente the toune of Daverne and cast doune the castle of Columberge and the Castle Rew, but the churches of Daverne and a house of Nonnes, wer saved by his commaundement. The same day was brente sainte Marie de Boys and all the countreye twelve myle about was of light fyer, the people fledde and lefte tounes and Castelles full of wyne, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Daverne the Englishemen found greate plenty, whiche or they went away they set a fyer.

The ix. day of Septembre the whole armye came before the toune of Boyardes in which was a Churche more liker a Castle then a Church, for it was depe ditched with drawe bridges

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bridges and with Bulwarkes, fortefied and lopes very warlike. The Admirall beholdyng it sayd, thys is like no house of praier. Then he commaunded his people to enter the dyches and plucke doune the drawe bridges, and set fyer in the churche and with gunpouder overthrewe it, and brent the toune and all the villages adjacent to the same, the people cried and fledde, well was he that might save him selfe.

The x. day thei came to the toune of Vaus, which was ny the toune called Fauconberge and there a company of Frenchemen were askried, for out of a wood they shewed them selves, but thei taried not long, but without profer of encounter thei departed. Wherfore thee whole armye toke their campe and there lay till the xiii. day whiche was saterdai, every daye sendyng plumpes out to set fyer in the countrey, and on that daye they toke the way to Frynge or Frynges, and ther brent the towne and destroyed the castle which was very strong.

The Sonday beyng the xiiii. day, the lorde Admirall with his compaigny in great raine and yll wether passed by hilles and valeys verye painefully, and with greate labor came to a toune called Blaniow, and there taried monday all day and there al day counsailed the capitaines bothe of England and Flaunders or Burgon what was best to be done.

Message from Hedyng.

On tewsday in the mornyng came a trumpet from the Castle of Hedyng and desired to speake wyth the capitaine, whiche incontinent sent for hym: my lorde capitaine sayd the trumpet, the capitaine of Hedyng desireth you to come thither and see the place, and on the walles he wyll bring you good lucke, and he prayeth you not to hurt the dere in hys parke, and for any other hurt you can do hym he careth not: well sayde the lorde Admyrall, I wyll send hym answere by my trumpet. Incontinent he called a trumpet and bad hym go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees and to say to him

The answere.

that he would come to the castle of Hedyng, and if he slay any of my menne with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I gette the castle I shall save neither man, woman, nor childe. So wyth that message the trumpet departed and declared it to Mounsire de Bees, whiche sayd that it was spoken of noble corage, and so the trumpet returned, and the same day the campe was removed and the whole armye came about the castle of Hedyng, at whiche tyme the toune of Hedynge was sore infecte with pestilence, wherefore

Hedyng beseged.

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fore a generall commaundement was geven that no man should once come into the toune, howbeit some of the Burgonyans did and set fyre in the houses.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was very light for the wayes were so depe and the grounde so wet that the greate ordinaunce could not be caried. Thys thing was well debated by the lord Admirall and the capitaines. After they had been there xi. dayes, fyrst they considered that the castle could not be obtained wyth out great ordinaunce, which in no wyse could then be caried, and also if they wyth the light ordinaunce shotyng should spend all their pouder and not get the castle then in theim might be reckened great foly, and al so they should bee in great jeopardie to passe wythout ordinaunce, and further the plage began sore in the armye, wherefore they determined to leave the siege and returne. But whyle they lay at the toune they bet doune roffes, galleries, chymnies, and suche other thynges as the light ordinaunce would bete doune, whyche sore defaced the beautie of the castle. They also destroied all the dere in the Parke, whyche were falowe dere and left none for the capitaine. The Englishemen were clerely determined to have assauted the castle if the Burgonions would have done the same: But they refused, whyche seyng the Englishmen left the assaut alone: For though the Englishemen had gotten it, it should have been delivered to the Emperours use by the treatie, for he claymed it as his inheritaunce, whyche caused the Englishemen to leave the assaut.

The cause why the castle was not assauted.

The siege raised.

And so the xxii. daye of September they rered the siege and set theim selfes in good order of battaill and passed styl onwarde til they came to Dorlans and brent the toune, and rased the castle, and from thence came to the good toune of Darrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brent all the way as he passed: and ever the wether was worse, and men fell sicke wherfore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into Flaunders above Betwyn.

Then the lord Admyral sawe that it was no time to kepe the felde, turned bacward in good order of battaill and came to Calaice the xvi. daye of October. And while he lay at Calayce he sent out syr Willyam Sandes, syr Morice Barkeley, syr Willam Fitzwillam wyth iii. M. men, whiche brent Marguyson whyche was newly edified and fortefied, they brent also the toune of sainct Johnes Rhode and Temple

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Temple toune, and many villages. At this voiage wer taken many prisoners xiii. M. shepe, xiiii. C. great cattel as Oxen and Kyen, and xiii. C. hogges, and xi. C. Mares and Horses, wyth this great botie this crew returned to Calayce in safetie.

Then the lord Admyral sent syr Jhon Walop wyth ix. C. men to saint Omers to lye there and at Guysnes, Hammes, and at Marke, and at Oy he left another nombre and left capitaines to overse them and all the soudiers had a monethes wages payed them and so returned into Englande. The adventurers taried still and gat many good prayes, and brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothyng: they were muche drad of all the common people, for of them they had great prayes, and dayly learned feates of warre whiche made them the bolder.

When the lorde Admirall had set all thynges in an order on that syde the sea, he toke shippe and with the Navy came into the river of Thames and so to the kynge, of whom he was wellcommed and not unworthy.

In this season were banished out of Southwarke xii. Scottes whiche had dwelt there a long season and wer conveied from parishe to parishe by the constable like men that had abjured the realme, and on their uttermost garment a white crosse before and another behynd them. Thus were they conveyed through London Northwarde till they came to Scotlande.

While the lorde Admiral was this in Fraunce destroiyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewsbury lorde George Talbot and Stewarde of the kynges houshold prepared by the kynges commaundment a great army toward Scotland: for the kynge was enformed that Duke Jhon of Albany (whiche in the Parliament of Scotland was made lord governor of the realme and of the yong kyng duryng hys nonage) had raised a mightie and puissaunt host of Scottes to the nomber of lxxx. M. men as after was well knowen, whiche were warlike appointed, and that he wyth v. C. Frenchemen with handgunnes and other great artillerie was commyng forward to invade the west Marches of England adjoynyng toward Scotlande. Wherefore the kyng sent worde to therle of Shrewsbury, which with all diligence lyke a noble capitaine set forward towarde Yorke, and wrote to therles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfford, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, and

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and to al other gentlemen to be ready within viii. houres warnyng with all their powers: and so in jorniyng, he wyth his power whiche was great, came to the citie of Yorke abidyng the ordinaunce, and the lordes and all other thynges necessary in suche a case.

In the meane season the Scottes were come nigh to the citie of Carleyle and lodged them nigh the water of Eske not farre from Sulway sandes, and there made their abode. Therle of Westmerland, the lord Dacres, the lorde Roos, the lord Mountaigle, with the knightes of Lancashere, Westmerland and Cumberland were ready with xxviii. M. men to have geven them battaill.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not come into England with out battaill, the lordes of Scotland drew to counsail, and amongest all one wyseman said, my lordes, hether be we come by the commaundement of my lorde Governor the duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should know: you al remember that the last warre was to the realme of Scotland muche prejudiciall: For kyng James the IIII. brought the realme of Scotland to the best that ever it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he and his nobilitie slain, whiche Scotland sore lamenteth: Wherfore by myne advice let us go to the duke and know of him the cause. Then thei al came to the dukes court, and therle of Arrayn an auncient man spake for them al and saied, my lord Governor, by your will and commaundement here is assembled almost all the nobilitie of Scotland with their power upon a pretence to entre into England, my lordes here would know the cause and quarel why this war is begon, if it might please your goodnes, it should wel satisfie their mindes.

The saiyng of a Scottishe Erle.

The duke studied a good while and sayd: this question would have bene demaunded or now: For wel you know that I for the very love that I bere to the realme of Scotland of the which I have my name, honor and lynage. I have passed the seas out of the noble realme of Fraunce into this realme of Scotland. One great cause to bryng you to a unitie when you were in devision: By reason of which devision your realme was likely to be conquered and destroied. Also the Frenche kyng by my suites and intercession wyl joyne with you in aide against thenglish nacion:

The answere of the duke of Albany.

nacion: and when this warre was determined in the parliament, you made me capitain, authorisyng me to invade England with banner displaied: then was no question demaunded of the right or quarell, and that I have is by your assent and agrement, and that I will justifie: But to answer your demaunde, me thinke you have just cause to invade England with fyer, sworde, and bloud, if you be not to forgetfull, and without you wil beare dishonor and reproche for ever: for you know that this realme of Scotland is our inheritaunce as a porcion of the world allotted to our nacion and auncetors whom we succede: Then where may be better warre then to mainteine this our naturall inheritaunce, is not daily sene the great invasion that thenglishmen on us make, the greate manslaughters and murders with robberies and spoiles that they do dayly? Is not this cause of warre? To defend the countrey is the office of a king the honor of noble men and the very service of chivalry, and the duty natural of the cominaltie. For I thinke it a just quarel if we might conquere the realme of England and annex it to our realme and make a Monarchie: For sith the beginning of our habitacion in this Isle of Britaigne, that nacion and we have bene enemies, and us they have ever hated, and yet we have ever withstode them til at the last battail of Branxston where we by chaunce lost our sovereigne lord and many noble men, but that was by treason of his lord chamberlain, and yet I thinke we wan the fielde: which murther I thinke all we noble men ought to revenge. Therfore I would that you should coragiously avaunce your self in this quarel to get honor and to be revenged.

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Then a sad man called the president of the counsaill said, my lord: Fortune of warre is led by him that all ledeth, and he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, and here are the lordes of England redy to encountre us, and surely they will fight, for their power shall encreace daily and ours is at the hyest. And God geve us the victory as I trust he will, yet have we not won the field. For redy comming is the lord talbot erle of Shrewsbury so muche drad in Fraunce as you know wel, with a great puissaunt army, and there is no doubt but the kyng of England wil send or bring another army, if we should chaunce to get the first battail: if we get the ii. fields, that wil not be without losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realme shalbe

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shalbe weaker. And if we be overcome, how many shalbe slayne God knoweth: they that fle be worthy to be reputed as traitors to the king and so by wilfulnes and folishe hardines the realme shalbe in jeopardy to be undone, and I say, while the king is within age, we ought to move no warre, sith by warre we may bring him to distruccion. Alas said the duke here is al the puissaunce of Scotland: if we returne we shal encorage our enemies, and the realme of Scotland shall ever be rebuked and defamed. All this communicacion in counsaill was written by one sir Lother priest and Scot and secretary to the quene of Scottes, whiche was a secretary there in the host at that tyme, to a Scottishe priest that dwelt in London: and farther he wrote that the Scottishe kyng did muche for the Frenche kynges pleasure to draw the lordes of England with their powers toward that partie and to put the kyng of England to charges, so that he should not invade Fraunce.

After this communicacion the quene of Scottes which doubted the sequele of this matter, sent worde to the duke and him required to comon of a peace with the warden of thenglish Marches, which sent an Herauld to the lord Daker then warden of the west Marches, the lord Daker agreed, and upon hostages went to the duke of Albany into his campe, where the quene of Scottes by that tyme was come, and so ther was an abstinence of warre taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the duke and the quene promised to send Ambassadours to the kyng of England to conclude a peace: And thus the Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was taken the xi. day of September betwene England and Scotland this xiiii. yere of the kyng. Therle of Shrewsbury hearyng of the truce by the lorde Dacres letters returned with al his company, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the commissioners sat for the loane of the x. part of every mans substaunce in every shyre, the people were sworne and some avaunsed themselfes more then they were worth of pride, not remembryng what was comyng, and the commissioners did what they could to set the people to the uttermoste, whiche afterwarde turned the people to muche heavines, and by reason of this, great summes of money were levied, but the moste part were not content, because the loane was so sodainly paied. But under the value of v. pound no

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no man lent a peny. The vii. day of October was iiii. M. pound paide to the citie of London whiche was lent for a private cause about the loane of the x. part.

In this yere the bakers of London came and tolde the Mayre that corne would be dere, wherupon he and the Aldermen made provision for xv. C. quarters, and when it was come they would by none, and made the common people beleve that it was musty, because they would utter their owne, so that the lorde Cardinall was fayne to prove it, and found the bakers false and commaunded them to bye it.

The xv. day of October the kyng lay at Hichyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flye, and by chaunce, there the kynges lodgyng was on fyer and he in greate feare, but in no jeopardie, and so the kyng came shortly to London and sent for the Mayre and dyvers Comoners and to them gave thankes for many kyndnes whiche they thought they had well deserved.

The warre thus continuing betwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of Englande, there was a valiaunt Capitayn Constable of the castle of Hammes under the lorde Mountjoy called sir Richard Whethyll, the Frenchemen hym so muche hated that they devised a policie to take him, and so on Christmas day at night there issued out of Bullain CC. horsmen and CCC. fotemen, and somuche they travayled that all together were come to a place where Hoppes grewe, nere Hammes castell called Catte Hall. When they were come thither, they kept theimselfes covert, and in the morning they brake up the Turne pyke by saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marshe ix. or x. footemen to take cattell. In the castle the *alarme* rang, but the embushement kept theim stil close: The constable perceived what the *alarme* ment, and armed hym, and so did his archers, and toke his horse, and thre gentelmen went on foote by him. The Frenchemen of purpose drived the cattell here and there as though it would not be driven, sir Rychard Whethyll pursued them. When the drivers sawe hym, they drove the cattell into a greate fielde: then were the bushment of horsemen and fotemen betwene hym and sainct Gertrudes, and they sodainly brake out on hym, and the thre gentelmen on foote fought valiauntly but thei were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on foote manfully, but he was borne doune

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doune with pykes, and sore wounded and so was compelled to yelde hym selfe prisoner: by that tyme were xxx. archers come out of the castle, and when they sawe the greate nomber of the Frenchemen, then they knewe that their capitain was betrayed and so returned.

In this Christmas whiche was kept at Eltham, the Cardinall made dyvers reformacions for the kynges housholde, and al they that had no masters were commaunded to avoyde.

The xxvii. day of February syr Jhon Walop knyght sent lx. aventurers from Guysnes to seke aventures, and they mette with a Gentelmanne called Thomas Palmer whiche went with them. And out of a Castell betwene Bullaine and Marguyson called Hadyngham came out lxxx. Frenchemen with Pykes and Crosbowes, and sette on the same Palmer whiche hym defended.

Al his company savyng xxiii. persons were gone about to seke their pray. These xxiii. persons him manfully succoured and after the Frenchmen had slain his horse and wounded hym, his company slew iii. Frenchemen and toke xxv. on live whiche were all hurt and so were thenglishemen, for the Frenchemen fought sore. All these prisoners were brought to Guisnes, and the remnant of thadventurers returned with muche cattell.

The last day of February lx. Englishmen archers and bilmen came to a place called saint Anthonies nere to Marguison and entred the houses and fell a spoilyng: The Frenchemen were therof advertised by a spy, and came on and set on a few Englishmen which were together: then with noise other of thenglishemen approched, so they were xl. persones. Then came out a freshe embushment of Frenchemen and set on thenglishemen and so slewe xi. and toke xx. prisoners and the other scaped. About this tyme the duke of Albany sailed out of Scotland into Fraunce, and the French kyng somuch favored him, that as it was shewed to the kyng of England for truthe, that when the French kyng rode through Paris he rode on the one hand and Richard de la Pole a traitor to England and by parliament attainted on the other hand, and that the duke had asked of the French kyng v. M. horsemen and x. M. Almaines, and that he had promised the French kyng if he had those xv. M. men, he would do one of these iii. thynges,

The duke of Albany returned.

thynges, either sley the kyng of England in battaill, or els take hym prysoner, or els drive hym out of his realme. These were shamefull bragges of a noble man and very folishe. THE XIIII. YERE [1522-23]

Ye have hard before how truce was taken by the duke of Albany and the lord Dacres for a season betwene England and Scotland and that Ambassadors should be sent to the king of England, so it was that in October accordyng to their accustomed doublenes they sent iii. personages of smal behavor as it semed, as Ambassadours from Scotland: thei were smally regarded and shortly departed. Their commission was to know whether the same tyme or abstinence of warre was by the kyng assented to or not, and other commission had they none. Thus they ment craftely as you may perceyve, for in suche troubelous tyme they may steale unpunished, whiche they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherfore the kyng to be sure of them sent for Henry the v. erle of Northumberland and him made warden of the whole Marches which thankefully accepted the same, and so departed lord Warden. But howsoever it happened he made suite to the kyng and his counsaill and never left, til he was discharged of the same, and then therle of Surray lord Admirall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Marques Dorset was made Warden of thest Marches and Myddill, and the lorde Dacres of the west Marches: whiche iii. lordes sped them thether the vi. day of March for the defence of the borders. For refusyng of this office therle of Northumberland was not regarded of his owne tenauntes whiche disdained hym and his bloud, and muche lamented his foly, and al men estemed hym without hart or love of honour and chivalry. Ambassade from Scotland.

The kyng out of hand sent commission to gather the loane, this was called the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme and every man commaunded to be ready within a dayes warnyng to do the kyng service in harnes, whiche caused every man of honesty to bye harnes and weapon. The loane gathered.

The lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene Englande and Scotland accompanied with sir Willyam Bulmer and sir Arthur Darcy and many other noble men, the second day of April then beyng shere thursday entred into

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into Tyvedale and so x. myle into Galoway and brent on every side townes and villages, and the Scottes in great nomber shewed themselfes on the hylles and did not approche, and so he all that night taried in the Scotishe ground, and on good Friday returned wyth their botie whyche was iiii. M. head of nete into Englande, when they had brent Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufforde mylles, Ackeforthe, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Midder Crowlyng, Marbottel, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner, Myddyl rigge, Primsed, Broket, Shawes Harvel, wide open Haught and other tounes and villages, and yet lost not many men.

The xv. daye of Aprill beganne a Parlyament at the blacke Fryers in London, and that day the Masse of the holy ghost was song, all the lordes beyng present in their Parliament robes. And when Masse was finished the kynge came into the Parliament chamber and there satte doune in the seate royall or throne, and at his fete on the right side satte the Cardynal of Yorke and the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and at the raile behind stode doctor Tunstal bishop of London, which made to the whole Parliament an eloquent Oracion, declaryng to the people the office of a kynge. Fyrst he muste be a man of judgement accordyng to the saiyng of the Prophet David *Deus judicium tuum regi da &c.* Also he muste be a man of great learnyng accordyng to the saiyng of the Prophete *Erudimini qui judicatis terram.* Accordyng to whiche saiynges he sayde that God had sent us a prince of great judgment, of great learnyng, and great experience, whiche accordyng to hys princely dutie forgat not to studye to sette forwarde all thynges whyche might be profitable to his people and realme, least ther might be layde to hys charge the saiyng of Seneca *Es rex et non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a kyng and hast no tyme to be a kyng? whiche is asmuch to say, as art thou a kyng and doest nothyng profitable to thy people? Art thou a kyng and seest the people have an insufficient lawe? Art thou a kyng and wilt not provide remedy for the mischiefe of thy people? These thynges have moved the kynges highnes to call this hys high court of Parliament both for the remedy of mischiefes whiche be in the common law, as recoveries, forain vouchers and corrupt trials. And for makyng and orderyng of new estatutes which may be to the high avauncement of the common wealth, wherfore he wylleth the commons to repayre

The oration of doctor Tunstall Bishoppe of London.

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payre to the common house and there to elect theim a speaker, or theyr common mouth, and to certifie the lorde Chauncellour of the same, whyche should thereof make report to the kynges moste noble grace, whyche should declare hys pleasure when he would have hym presented before hys personne. Thys was the cause of the Parlyament he sayd, but surely of these thynges no worde was spoken in the whole Parlyament, and in effect no good acte made except the graunt of a greate subsidie were one, but accordyng to thys instruccion the commons departed to the common house and chose for their speaker sir Thomas Moore knight and presented hym the saterday after in the Parlyament chamber, where he accordyng to the old usage disabled hymselfe both in wit, learnyng, and discrecion, to speake befor the kyng, and brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desired Hanniball to come to his readyng, whyche thereto assented, and when Hannyball was come, he began to reade, *de re militare*, that is of Chivalrie, when Hannyball perceived hym, he called hym arrogant foole, because he would presume to teache hym whych was master of Chivalrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayde, if he should speake before the kyng of learnyng and orderyng of a common welth and such other like the kyng beyng so well learned and of suche prudence and experience might say to hym as Hannyball sayd to *Phormio*. Wherfore he desired hys grace that the commons might chose another speaker: The Cardinall answered, that the kyng knewe his witte, learnyng and discrecion by long experience in his service, wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the moste metest of al, and so he did admit hym. Then sir Thomas Moore gave to the kyng hys moste humble thankes, and desired of hym two peticions: The one, if he should be sent from the commons to the kyng on message and mistake their entent, that he might with the kinges pleasure resort againe to the commons for the knowledge of their true meanyng: The other was, if in communicacion and reasonyng any man in the common house should speake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of recorde, whiche two peticions were graunted, and so thus began the Parlyament and continued as you shall heare.

The Oration of Sir Thomas More.

Because an evil chaunce happened to the great rebuke of al

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The Rhodes besieged.

al christen princes, I entend briefly to declare the same miserable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sulton Solyman Pac called the great Turke which was but the viii. of the ligne of Ottoman, the first that toke upon hym to be a great capitain or ruler. And to whom Sultan Selyme his father had lost thempyres of Constantinople, Trapesonde, Alexandry, and Babylon, with many divers kyngdomes and realmes: whiche Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten thee towne of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all the greate princes in Christendome now at discord, thought it moste for his honor and profite to make warre on the Isle of the Rodes and to take the same, which Isle had been kept by the space of CC.xiiii. yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of sainct Johnes of Jerusalem. Dyvers thynges moved him to take this enterprice. One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of the same oftentymes toke and destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egypt Sirie and other Est parties to Constantinople, so that by theim of that Isle he sustayned more hurt then by all Christendome, because the sayd Isle stode in the entry toward Constantinople. Another mocion was because his father when he died charged hym to assay to take the Rhodes for to be revenged of the shame that they had done to hys graundfather Mahomet the great Turke which was with dishonor beten from the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest occasion of all was the exhortacion of a great counsailer of the religion called Andrewe Admiral borne in Portyngale, whiche knew the whole estate and in what case the toune stode in: The cause why this Andrew Amyral bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto lord master of their religion, he was not elected to that honor, but one Philip de Vylliers de Lisle Adam of Fraunce was named to be lord Master, wherfore the said Andrew provoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

Why the turk coveted the Rhodes.

The great Turke seyng so great an occasion offered and desiryng honor, and also knowing the fortresse of the Rhodes to lacke municions (for surely the brethren of the sayd order wer both of suche wealth and pride and also lived after suche an ungracious and ungodly fashion, that they toke neither hede of their vow and solempne profession, nor also did forese the thynge to come, so that the greate welth of them and their

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their evil livyng blinded them, so that they thought the Turke durst not ones attempt to set on their garrison, and so they beyng elevate in this point of pride, left their toune unfurnished and so wer sodainly surprised as you shall heare) wherfore the sayd Turke covertly provided for iii. C. saile, in the whiche he caried all his artilery and al other thinges necessary: in the which armye wer lx. M. myners and pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge and myne. All the rest of the army of the Turke came by land to a place called Fysco, which standeth so directly against the Rhodes that a fyer may be seen from the one side to the other, from whiche place the Turke sent letters to the abovenamed Philip de Vylliers lorde Master of the sayd religion signifiyng to him that he would have the sayd Isle for great damage that they had done to him and his people, and if they would yeld to hym the sayd Isle, he promised on his faith and by Mahomet his fyrst prophet, thei should have no damage nor hurt by hym, and that thei that would depart should go in safetie, and they that would tary and serve him should have good wages and if they refused thys to do, he sware that he would subvert the walles of their fortresse and destroy them all and make them slaves, which letter was dated at Constantinople the first dai of June. The said Lord Master and his compaignie were greatly abashed at this letter, but yet lyke hardy gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparacions that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to al princes christen of their nede and distres. But the Turke like a wyly serpent knowyng the great devision amongest the christen princes, so that he knewe that they could sende no succours to the Rhodes, sent CC. M. Turkes whiche arrived in the Isle of the Rhodes on Mydsomer dai, which was the feastfull daye of the Rhodians in honor of Saint Jhon baptiste whiche sodain commyng sore abashed the Rhodyans beyng but vi. C. knightes and v. M. other mete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they determined to defende the enemies of God, and the xxviii. day of July the Turke arrived there in his awne persone, whiche muche encouraged his people.

When the Turke was arrived, he bent his ordinaunce towarde the toune and did no great harme, when he sawe that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle

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litle harme, he caused all his Pyoners to cast yearth, one banke over an other still tyl they came within a bow-shot of the wall, and although that many of the pyoners were slain with ordinaunce of the toune, they never ceased tyll they had made a banke of yearth hygher by x. foote then the wall of the toune, and there they layde their ordinaunce, so that no persone durst styrre on the walles or Bulworkes, and thus with mountaines of yearth was the toune environed and behynd the mountaynes lay the Basheaux and chief capitaines of the Turke whiche were ever ready to take their advauntage, and dayly they shot into the toune and bet doune houses and slewe the people in the streates, for they upon this mount myght easely see into the toune. Besyde this, the Turke caused so many mynes to bee made in divers places, that they within were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, insomuche as wemen were set a worke to dygge and cary, by reason wherof a greate part of the walles were overthrowen, and if they within had not made countermynes the toune had bene gotten within a short space.

The mountes.

The Mynes.

Also the Turkes in September gave to the Rhodyans foure greate assautes lyke valiaunt warriers, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them, that at every assaute they lost at the lest ii. M. men, and at the fourth assaute they lost x. M. Turkes and more.

The assautes.

The greate Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assautes, sent for Monstaffa Basshaw, through whose counsail he toke on him this enterprice and much blamed hym that he had made hym beleve that he might have the toune within xii. dayes or in a moneth at the most, wherefore in that furie he would have put hym to death, if the other Basshawes had not entreated for him: but in conclusion the Turke determined clerely to rayse his siege and to departe, and so had done if that same night syr Andrew Amyrall that you heard of before and a Jewe beyng within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarelles into the Turkes army. By whiche letters the Turke knewe the necessitie of the toune and feblenes of the people, whyche caused hym to chaunge his purpose. But this treason was espyed, and the traytors taken and put to terrible execucion. And the Turke caused so many Mynes to bee made, that although some tooke none effecte, yet

Treson espied.

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yet by some he overthrewe bothe Bulwarkes, walles and towers, so that he myght entre into the toune: and so on sainct Andrewes even he caused a greate assaute to bee geven, whiche was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valiauntly defended them, that they slewe thre thousande Turkes and mo, and kept them from enteryng that daie, but the Citezens of the Rhodes after this assaulte, came to the lorde Master, and praied hym to have compassion of them, their wives and children, and shewed him that if the toune were taken by assault, (as it was like to be) that thei al should be cruelly murdered, the lorde Master muche regarded his honour, and comforted the people with faire wordes, but by chaunce about the same tyme, the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willyng theim to deliver the toune, and they all should have their lyves and goodes, and they that would tary, should tary in quiet, and thei that would depart should savely depart.

When this letter was knowen, then the people cried out on the lorde Master, to take the offre, wherfore he callyng all his counsaill together seyng that it was not possible to kepe the toune longer, both for lacke of artilary and vytayle, and also because his nomber was so minished, that scace he had souldiers to kepe the walles, wherefore he by greate advice determined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym twoo of his religion, for the farther conclusion and assuraunce of the same, whiche well entertained them, and had wrytynges sealed of all thynges that they desired, to which two knightes, Aymeche Basshaw sware by his faith that there was slayn at the siege lxiiii. thousande Turkes, and xl. thousande dedde of mortalitie and mo.

The yeldyng up of the Rhodes.

And so on Christmas daie, the great Turke hymselfe entered into the Rhodes, and toke possession therof, and the lorde Master and all his religion, the first daie of January tooke shyp and sailed to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared his chaunce and adventure. Thus was the toune and the isle of the Rhodes, taken by the great Turke, whiche was a great succour to all christian men, resortyng into the East partes of the world, whiche chaunce was muche lamented thorowe all Christendom, and much blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succoure nor aide to the Isle.

And this yere the byshoppe of Duresme died, and the kyng

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kyng gave the byshoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the byshoprike of Bathe, to doctor Jhon Clerke master of the Rolles, and he made sir Henry Marney his vicechamberleyn lorde Privie Seale, and after created hym lord Marney. In the ende of this yere, doctor Blithe byshop of Chester, was attached for treason, but he acquite hymselfe. And about this season, the Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proved testamentes, and dyd call before hym, all the executors and administrators, of every Dioces within the realme, so that the bishoppes and ordinaries, did prove no great willes in their dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their litle dysavauntage. Also by his power Legantine he gave by provencions, all benefices belongyng to spirituall persones, by the whiche doyng, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualtie, but also he ran into the daunger of the Premunire, whiche he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the xxi. yere of this kyng.

THE XV. YERE.

The xv. yere.

The Cardinalles oracion.

THE Parliament beyng begon, as you have hard before rehersed, the Cardinall accompaignied with diverse lordes, aswell of the Spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, came the xxix. daie of Aprill into the Common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the Frenche kyng Fraunces the first, called the moste Christened kyng had so often tymes broken promise with the kyng of England, and his welbeloved nephew Charles the Emperor, that the kyng of his honor, could no longer suffre. For first he declared, that the metyng of the saied twoo prynces at Guisnes, the said Frenche kyng was sworne, to kepe all the articles conteined in the tripartite league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the kyng of Englande, sithe the whiche tyme, he hath made warre on themperors dominions, by Robert de la Marche his capitain. He also hath with holden the tributes and other paimentes, whiche he should paie to the kyng of Englande, for redempcion of Torney and Tirwin, and not with this content, hathe not alonely robbed and spoyled the kynges subjectes, but also hath sent Jhon duke of Albany into Scotland, to make warre and

and to invade this realme, wherfore the king of necessitie was driven to warre and defence, whiche in no wise could be mainteined, without great somes of money, and he thought no lesse then viii. C. M. pounde to be reised of the fifth part of every mans goodes and landes, that is to saie iiii.s. of every pounde, for he saied that the yere folowing, the kyng and the Emperour should make suche warre in Fraunce, as hath not bene sene.

THE XV. YERE [1523-24] The demaunde.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhortyng the Commons to aide their prince, in tyme of necessitie, he departed out of the common house. The morow after, sir Thomas More beyng speker, declared all the Cardinalles oracion again to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, saiyng: that of duetie men ought not to deny to paye iiii.s. of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proved manifestly, that if the fifth part of substaunce of the realme, were but viii. C. M. pounde and if men should paie to the kyng, the fifth part of their goodes, in money or plate, it was proved, that there was not so much money out of the kynges handes, in al the realme, for the fifth part of every mans goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although five men were well monied, v. thousand were not so, the gentelman of landes, hath not the fifth part of the value of coyne: The Marchaunt that is ryche of Sylke, Wolle, Tynne, Clothe, and suche Marchaundise, hath not the fift parte in money, the husbande man is ryche in corne and cattel, yet he lacketh of that some. Lykewyse viteilers and all other artificers, be ryche in housholde stuffe, and not in money: And then consequently, if all the money were brought to the kynges handes then men must barter clothe for vitaile, and bread for chese, and so one thyng for another: then consider that after this valuacion, the kyng hath had by the waie of loane ii.s. of the pound whiche is foure hundred M. pound, and now to have iiii.s. of the pound which amounteth in the whole xii. C. M. ł. whiche first and last is vi.s. of the ł. whiche is almost the third part of every mans good, whiche in coyne can not be had within this realme, for the profe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but xv. M. parishes, and every parishe should geve a C. marke, that were but xv. C. M. marke, whiche is but x. C. M. ł. and how many parishes be in England one with another able to spare a C. markes, out of cities and tounes: and where it is written, that

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that in England there be xl. M. parishe churches, it was proved that there were not xiii. M. parishe churches at this daie. Then accompt the whole some can not amounte above x. C. M. ł. and the kyng demaundeth viii. C. M. and he according to this valuacion, hath had iiii. C. M. pounde, therfore it was thought, the some was impossible to be levied, and if all the coyne were in the kynges handes, how should men live: Also the kyng had of the spirituall men the last yere iiii.s. of the pounde.

After long reasonyng, there were certain appoynted, to declare the impossibilitie of this demaunde to the Cardinall, whiche according to their commission, declared to hym substancially the povertie and skarcenes of the Realme: All whiche reasons and demonstracions, he litle regarded, and then the saied persons, moste mekely beseched his grace, to move the kynges highnes, to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he currishly aunswered, that he would rather have his tongue, plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsons, then to move the kyng, to take any lesse some: with whiche aunswere they almoste dismaied, came and made reporte to the common house, where every daie was reasonyng, but nothyng concluded.

Wherfore the Cardinall came again to the common house, and desyred to be reasoned withal, to whom it was aunswered, that the fashion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reason, but emong themselfes. Then he shewed the realme to be of great ryches, firste, because the kynges customes were greater now, then they were before tyme: also he alleged sumpteous buildynges, plate, riche aparel, of men, women, children, and servauntes, fatte feastes, and delicate dishes, whiche thynges were all tokens of greate aboundaunce: with whiche repetyng of mens substaunce, as though he had repined or disdained, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but hymself, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proved, that honest apparell of the commodities of this Realme, aboundaunce of plate, and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall.

After long debating, the Commons concluded to graunte ii.s. of the pound, of every mannes landes or goodes, that was worth xx. pounde, or might dispende xx. pound, to be taken for the kyng, and so upwarde of every xx.s. twoo s.

and

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and from xl.s. to xx. pounde, of every xx.s. xii.d. and under xl.s. of every hed xvi. yeres and upwarde iiii.d. to bee paied in twoo yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therwith was sore discontent, and saied, that the lordes had graunted iiii.s. of the pound, whiche was proved untrue, for in dede they had graunted nothyng, but harkened all upon the commons.

Then a knight called sir Jhon Huse of Lincolneshire, saied, to please the Cardinall somwhat, let us gentlemen of fiftie pound lande and upwardes, geve to the kyng of our landes xii.d. of the pounde, to be paied in thre yere: with whiche mocion diverse gentlemen were sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or xii. of the gentelmen sayed yea, and when the naie should be asked, the commons saied nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the gentelmen to charge themselfes, and so by x. or xii. persones the gentlemen were burdened, with xii.d. more then other, for the whiche graunt, sir Jhon Huse had muche evill will.

After this graunt made the xxi. daie of Maie, because of Whitsontide, the parliament was proroged to the tenth daie of June: Duryng which prorogacion, the common people saied to the Burgesses, Sirs, we heare saie you will graunt iiii.s. of the pound, we advise you to do so that you maie go home, with many evill wordes and threatenynges.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power legantine, dissolved the Convocacion at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and called hym and all the clergie, to his convocacion to Westminster, whiche was never sene before in England, wherof master Skelton a mery Poet wrote.

Gentle Paule laie doune thy swearde:
For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard.

When the parliament was begonne again, the landed menne of fiftie pounde and upward, seyng that they were charged, with xii.d. of every pounde of their landes, moved, that all suche as were worth fiftie pound in goodes and upward, should paie also xii.d. of the pounde, in the iiii. yere. At the whiche mocion was muche reasonyng, and at the last the xxvii. daie of June, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were moste, then was the house divided, and all the commons severed theimselfes, from the knightes of the sheres, so that one yea part remained onely the

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the knightes of the shire, and the commons stifly affirmed that the mocioners of this demaunde, were enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called theim all together, and after long perswadyng, and privie laboryng of frendes, it was agreed that xii.d. of the pounde should be paied the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

After this the parliament the xxxi. daie of July, was adjorned to Westminster, and there continued till the xiii. daie of August, and that daie at ix. of the clocke in the night dissolved. Duryng the tyme of this Parliament the xxvii. daie of Aprill, was Sir Arthur Plantagenet, bastarde sonne to kyng Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created viscount Lisle, in the right of his wife, whiche was wife to Edmond Dudley behedded.

In this season was true worde brought, that on Christmas daie laste past, the strong toune of the Rhodes was delivered, to the great Turke called Sultan Soliman, with the whole Islande, to the greate hurt of all Christian nacions: the causes of the losse, was the evill livyng of the brethren or knightes, and negligence of provision for the defence, and the envie and treason emong themselfes, as it is written and reported.

This yere Cristierne kyng of Denmarke with his wife, which was sister to the Emperour Charles, and his thre children, with xviii. shyppes arrived in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by his uncle Frederick Duke of Holst, and his awne subjectes, for his crueltie as is written. Whiche Cristierne with his wife was well entertained of the Duches of Savoy, and a pencion assigned to hym to lyve on, in Brabant and Hollande. Duryng the tyme of his there sojornyng, he made muche suite to come into Englande, to see and speake with the kyng, whiche request was to hym graunted, and so he and his Quene, with foure gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourty persones, poore and evill appareled, landed at Dover the xv. daie of June, where he was nobely received, by the erle of Devonshire, and the byshoppes of Excester, and Rochester, and diverse Knightes and Esquiers, and so brought to Grenewyche: where the kyng and the Quene, standyng under their clothes of estate, received in the greate hall of Grenewyche, kyng Cristerne and Quene Isabell his wife. And he dined with the kyng, and she with the Quene, both set under the

The Kyng of Denmarkes commyng into Englande.

the clothe of estate, and were sumpteously served, of all dilicate viandes. THE XV. YERE [1523-24]

And when he had sojourned there a season, every daie feasted at the Court, he was conveighed to London, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watche in London, on sainct Peters even, desired to se it, and so was accompaignied with the duke of Suffolk, the erles of Oxford, Essex, and Kent, and diverse other lordes and ladies, and brought into the kynges hed in Chepe, where the cytie of London made to hym and his wife a costly banket. And when he had sene the watche, he saied, I would to God I had so many Archers, Pikes, and halberders, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would punishe suche, as have wrongfully dispossessed me, of my realme and countrey. And after he had solaced hymself in London, he resorted to the kyng, of whom he had many great giftes, and likewise had his wife of the Quene her aunte, and so tooke their leave, and were conveighed to Dover. And when he had bene in Englande xxii. daies, he toke shippyng, and sailed again into Flaunders, praisyng muche the kyng of Englande and his court.

Duryng all this season, and session of the parliament, the warre was fierce, bothe betwene Englande and Fraunce, and England and Scotlande, in so muche that eche parte, did asmuche as in theim laie, to hurte the other. For on the borders of Scotlande, laie the valiaunt Earle of Surrey, greate Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and his thre brethren, sir Willyam Compton, and sir Willyam Kyngston, with diverse other Knightes and Esquiers, sent to theim by the kyng, whiche dayly invaded the realme of Scotlande, and threwe doune the Castle of Wedorberne, the castle of West Nesgate, the Castle of Blakkater, the tower of Mackewalles, the Tower of Est Nesgate, and many other, and brent to the nomber of xxxvii. villages, and haried the countrey from the Este Marches to the West, and never had skirmishe: but they often times shewed themselfes in plumpes, waiting their avantage howbeit in all this journey, were fewe Englishemen lost. Wherfore the Lordes perceiving, that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into Englande, fortified the frontiers on every parte, with men and all thynges necessary for defence, for stealyng or other small rodes. After all whiche thynges set in a perfectnes,

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perfectnes, they returned toward the kyng, and came to the ende of the parliament.

A ship sonken with stone in Calice haven.

In this season, the Frenchemen havyng a greate desier, to have the kynges toune of Calice, devised first to destroy the haven, by the which thei supposed, that Calice might have been lightly gotten, for faulte of reskewe. Whereupon thei laded an old ship of iiii. C. tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Depe, whiche ship had no mast, but came with a foresaile, as though the mast had bene cut, and cast over the bord in the sea in a tempest. And when she came before Calice, every man that sawe her, thought she had bene wether driven, and lost her mast by tempest, and so aboute x. of the clocke at night the xxiiii. daie of May, the saied shippe came before Calice haven, as though she would entre for harborow, and so was enteryng and missed the chanell, and turned to the sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frenchemen supposing, that they had bene in the very chanell, launched out their boate, and sodainly set the shippe on fire, and lepte into their boate, and so skaped by the shore. When thei of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore troubled, and at the last when the water was gone, they perceived the ship consumed, and the goodly Cane stone liyng whole.

Wherfore the lorde Barnes deputie of Calice, the lorde Barkley leuetenaunt of the castle, the lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the labourers that might be gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the ship, and to cary away the stone, and so the saied stone was brought to Calice : wherupon the saied Capitaines sent a letter, to the capitayn of Bulleine, by Calice pursivant at armes, desiryng hym to geve thankes, to Monsire Lodowyke capitayn of Depe, for the sendyng of so fayre a ship, and goodly stone to Calice, whiche stone the saied lordes sent worde, they had received into the toune of Calice, and that it did them muche profite, for the fortificacion of the saied Toune, desyryng hym to sende more, and they would receive it on the same price. To the whiche letter, the capitain of Bulleine aunswered, I have nothyng lost, nor they have nothyng gotten of me, tell hym that hath lost, with whiche aunswer the pursivant departed. Wherupon thenglishemen beyng greved, there issued out of Calice an hundred light men of warre, called aventurers, and came nere Bulleine, and obteined

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a greate botie, wherof the garrison of Bullein being advertysed, issued out and folowed the Englishemen, and sharpely them encountered. The Englyshemen shot so, that the French men whiche were five hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appered evidently, that there were dedde on the ground xlvi. Frenchemen, and xxii. Englishemen, and the Frenchemen toke xx. Englishemen prisoners, the residue of the Englishemen kept them together, and so came to Calice, the capitain of this enterprise was one Lathebery.

The lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, entendyng to be revenged on the Frenchemen, called the counsaill of Calice to hym, and declared to them how that the Frenchemen, and in especiall Monsire de Bees capitain of Bullein, daily imagened to destroye the Englishe pale, and that they on the Englishe part, had nothyng done yet against them: wherfore he advised them all to do some act, and he hymself would be present, and formoste man, and their leder and capitain. Whereupon it was concluded and commaunded, that every man should bee in a readines, at the soundyng of a trompet, upon whiche warnyng, the saied lorde Sandes the ix. daie of July early in the mornyng, sent furth twoo hundred lyght horses, through the Englishe pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one towarde the other, least his enterpryse should be askried, and so the people were kept in all that daie, and in the evenyng aboute seven of the clocke, he hymself with a capitain called Guiot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Raufe Broke and other, set forward with light ordinaunce and vitaile, and embattailed themselfes in good arraie, and marched towarde Sandifelde by a xi. of the clocke, and there refreshed themselfes, and in good ordre, thei came to the water of Sclaukes, not farre from Bullein, whiche was the tenth daie of July.

When they were askried *Alarme* was rong all the countrey, and the capitain of Bullein sent furth lxx. menne of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morice pikes, crosebowes, and hande gunnes, wherefore capitain Guyot was sent with hys bend of horsemen, to aide thenglyshe footemen, whiche were farre behynde, and Capitain Ripton, was appoynted to fyght with the Frenchemen, and Sir Thomas Palmer, and Raufe Broke, with the remnaunt of the horsemen, stode for a stale. Then capitain Ripton profered forwarde with the Speres

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Speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiauntly, then began a sore skirmishe, the Frenche men bothe horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Sclaukes, whiche is but a gut made by force of lande water, but after long fyght, the Englyshemen gat over the water by pure force, and toke the Frenchemens standerd, and a gentelman, whiche was a man of Armes of Bullein, called Charles de Marviell, and ever sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, stode and aided where necessitie was moste. Thus this skirmishe continued, from foure of the Clocke in the mornyng, tyll ix. of the clocke, before None, and ever the Frenchemen encreased, but at the last they retreited themselfes toward Bullein, in whiche returne diverse of them were slain. Or the skirmishe was ended, came the lord Sandes with the fotemen, with his spere on his thigh, and his helme on hys hed, and greatly encouraged his compaignie: duryng whiche conflict, diverse of Picardy had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirsaell, whiche was well fortefied, and a strong place: whereof the Lorde Sandes beyng advertised, he marched thetherward, and in the waie burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer of Armes, to them that kept the churche of Odirsaell, to yeld the churche to hym, which to hym aunswered, that they would stande at defence: then he commaunded an assault, which quickly was done, and the Frenchemen defended them selfes, with hand gonnes, crosebowes, and pikes, so that the Englishmen could not entre. Then the lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, whiche he had with hym, to be shotte to the churche, and perced it through: Then they within sawe that their defence could not hold, yelded themselfes body and goodes. Out of the Churche came lxxii. Frenchemen, whiche were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes whiche they had caried into the churche were taken for a botie. Thus by one of the clocke, the saied tenth daie of July, was the churche of Odirsaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchemen manned the steple of Odyngham, whiche was a very strong tower, muche like a castle, to whome the lorde Sandes sent an officer of armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they aunswered, that they were Frenchemen, and to hym they would none yeld, and if he came thether, they would withstand hym: wherupon he and his armie marched thether ward,

ward, and about foure of the clocke at after none, he assaulted the steple, and the Frenchemen themselfes valiauntly defended, but sodainly by a chaunce unknowen, the steple was a fire, and the Frenchemen fled doune to the quire, then the Englishemen lightly entered the body of the churche, and assaulted the Frenchemen, whiche cried mercie and yelded theimselfes, and at twelve of the clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the churche fortie prisoners.

After whiche tyme the Lorde Sandes encamped hymselfe, and made good watche for feare of enemies, and in the mornyng called to hym all the priestes, whiche were in bothe the churches, and stode at defence, and said to them that they ought not to be men of warre, and notwithstanding he had theim as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released them, admonishyng them, that if ever after they wer taken at defence, they should be hanged on the next galowes: after whiche monicion done, he delivered them frely.

About viii. of the clocke in the morning, he marched forward in good ordre of battaill, and came to the Castle of Hardyngham, the whiche he brent and spoyled, and so the xi. daie of July, he and his compaignie whiche passed not xii. C. men, of whiche he had lost but onely xii. returned to Calice with greate store of bestiall and pillage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of xviii. M. men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, whiche secretly enterprysed to take a place called Newdike, whiche is a strong passage, betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Flemynges, wherof they beyng advertised, arreised a greate power of xiii. M. and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchemen vi. C. then the Frenche men reculed, and severed theimselfes : some went to Mount Orry, and some to sainct Omers and some brent the subbarbes, they within Mount Orry defended themselfes, and hurte the capitain of Bulleine, called Monsire de Bees, and slew his horse : wherfore the Frenchmen went thence, and brent a village called Arkus : thus was all the frountiers full of Frenchemen, insomuche that in the monethe of Auguste, they bette into the toune of Guisnes, the scourers and the scoute watche, whereof began *Alarme*, and the Frenchemen whiche were many in nombre, a lighted as though they would geve assaut maintenant, and fiersly proffered toward the diche, but when the ordinaunce began once

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once to shote, it was no nede to bid theim go. Then the Englishemen coragiously folowed the chace, but sodainly out came an embushement of Frenchemen, and toke twoo Englishemen, and thus all the armie of Fraunce, removed to Gyngate beside Tyrwyn.

The Frenche kyng seing the kyng of England, daily more and more encoraged to make warre on him and his dominions, and that the Scottes did nothyng to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke Jhon of Albany, whom the Scottes called their governor. He therfore caused great preparacion to be made, on all parties for men, shippes, harnes, and artilery, for the sendyng of the duke Jhon of Albany into Scotlande, which duke of a greate presumpcion promised to the Frenche kyng, to drive the kyng of Englande out of his realme, whiche promise was not kept.

The kyng of Englande, hearyng that the Duke of Albany, should passe into Englande, to make warre on his realme thought to have hym met on the seas, and therfore he prepared, a flete of tal and strong shippes mete to encounter with the saied Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that journey, sir Willyam Fitzwilliam, and with hym sir Fraunces Brian, sir Anthony Pounez, Serjant Rot, Jhon Hopton, Willyam Gonstone, Anthony Knivet, Thomas West and other, whiche with greate diligence, laie in waite to mete with the said duke of Albany, and as they sailed on the Frenche coast, they determined to lande, to doo some harme to Trey Port, and as they hovered there, thei were espied: then the capitain of the toune fired the beakens, sent for aide of al the fortresses about and strengthed and manned the toune very warlike. This notwithstandyng, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam and other capitaines, left not their enterprice, and so the xxiii. daie of August beyng Sondaye, at seven of the clocke in the mornyng, they toke lande in the haven of Treyport, at whom the Frenchemen shot out ordinaunce, quarelles and stones, the Englysh men in the botes shot likewise, and encoraged by their capitaines, assauted the Frenchemen in their bulwerkes, the Frenchemen them valiauntly defended, and thenglishe capitaines as men without fere, theim assailed and yet the nomber was nothyng egall, for the Englishemen were but vii. C. men, and the Frenchemen vi. M. For the well fightyng of the Frenchmen, their bulwerkes were taken, and their ordinaunce sezed, and all that were about, fled to the toune

toune of Treiport, and ever thenglishmen folowed shotyng arowes at them, and sleyng them, in whiche skirmishe Serjant Rotte had his bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne. Then the capitaines cried sainct George, to the gates of Treyport, then every man avaunced forward, and as they were goyng, Cristopher Morres master Gonner, espied a pece of a Maste, whiche he caused to bee taken up, and then Anthony Knevet, and Fraunces Neudigate with their men, ranne with the saied maste to the gate, but the gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at every loupe laie a pece of ordinaunce, whiche continually shot at the Englishemen, whiche caused theim to leave the gate, and then they sette fyre in the subbarbes, whiche was a fayre strete, and all was brent, and while the subbarbes brent, the Englishmen went to the haven, and would have had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherfore they set fyre on theim, and brent there seven faire shyppes beside other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the gates, and muche murder on bothe sides, for the Frenchemen in fliyng from their bulwerkes to the toune, lost lxxx. persones, and many were hurte with arrowes. The men of the countrey came thether stil, in somuche as the nomber became very great, whiche sir Willyam Fitz Willyam perceiving, caused his trompet to blowe a retrete, and with suche prysoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten, they returned to their boates, and the capitaines sent their souldiers before, the Frenchemen perceiving the Englishemen returned, issued out and founde on lande, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Wagham, Serjant Rotte, and other Capitaines to the nomber of twelve, and ran hastely toward theim in great nomber, which perceiving that, bended themselfes to sell their lives dere: sir Willyam Fitz William perceiving the great jeoperdy that they were in, turned hys boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, and with muche paine saved these gentelmen, and them toke into boates, notwithstanding a great nomber of Frenchemen, which were in the water to let him: and thus the whole armie returned to their shippes, after they had bene v. houres on land, and brought with them xxvii. peces of faire ordinaunce, whiche were in the bulwarkes, and lost of their men not fully xx. persones, and then every capitaine toke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, ever lokyng for the duke of Albany, but hard no tidynges of hym.

In

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Jorney of the duke of Suffolke.

In the Parliament (as you have hard) it was concluded, that the kyng of necessitie, muste nedes make strong warre on the realme of Fraunce, wherfore the noble Charles duke of Suffolke, was appoynted as Capitain generall, to passe with an armie royall into Fraunce, in the ende of August, whiche with all diligence, prepared all thynges necessary, for suche a royal enterpryce, and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geve their attendaunce on hym, the Lorde Montacute, and syr Arthur Pole his brother, the lorde Herbert sonne to the erle of Worcester, the lorde Ferreis, the lorde Marney, the lorde Sandes, the lorde Barkeley, the lorde Powes, and Baron Curson, and of knightes, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, Sir Jhon Veer, sir Edward Nevell, sir Willyam Kyngston, syr Richard Weston, sir Andrew Wynsore, sir Robert Wyngfeld, sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sir Edward Guyldford, sir Edward Gryvell, sir Edward Chamberlein, sir Thomas Luce, syr Everard Dighby, syr Adrian Foscew, syr Willyam Skevington master of the ordinaunce, sir Thomas Cheiney, sir Richard Cornwell, syr William Cortney, sir Willyam Sidney, sir Henry Owen al these lordes and knightes, with many other knightes and coragious Esquiers, and active gentlemen, came according to the kynges commaundement at last, with all their people and retinue to Dover, wher thei mustered at severall times, as thei passed to the sea, and so the nombre taken, that is to saie, of dimy Lances vi. C., of archers on horsebacke twoo C., of Archers on foote three M., of bill men five M., of pioners and laborers ii. M. vi. C., and when the viewe was taken on the other side of the sea, there were adjoyned to this nomber xvii. C. whiche might be spared out of the fortresses, and crewes of Hams, Guysnes, and Calice, so that al the army wer xiii. M. and an C. well harnesed, and appareled for the warre, the pioners onely excepte: but the duke himself arrived at Calice the xxiiii. of August, with his retinue and counsaill, abiding the armye, and caused all thynges, as vitaill and other, to be prepared for the same.

Muche commonyng was in Englande, whether this army should go because that no man, except a fewe, knew the secretnes: some said to Bullein, some to Paris, and so every man judged, accordyng to his awne opinion, as the common use is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was greate in Calice, the

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the duke of Suffolk caused his armie to be lodged in tentes and pavilions, upon the faire grene beside sainct Peters Churche, for their more healthe, and he accompaignied with diverse noble men, the viii. daye of September rode to Gravelyng, and thether came to hym Cristerne kyng of Denmark and the lorde Isilsten, capitain generall of Flaunders, whiche amiably enterteigned the saied duke, and after they had secretly commoned of diverse matters, concernyng diverse armies to invade Fraunce, in sondry places, the duke toke leave of the kyng and other, and came to Calice.

A riot at Calyce.

While the armie laie without Calice, they daily came into the toune, and so it happened that a symple felow cut a purse, as he made to bie apples, whiche incontinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to ward whiche thyng divers Welshemen perceivyng and not knoweyng what apperteigned to Justice, ranne in greate compaignies to the Maiors house, and would have broken the house, the Officers of the toune entreated, and Welshemen more and more approched, the nombre of the Welshemen were so greate, that the watche of Calice strake *Alarme*. Then the Lorde deputie and the Lorde Sandes, did all that in theim laye, to bryng theim to conformitie, but thei wer so rude that thei nothyng them regarded, the priestes brought furthe the blessed Sacrament, whiche also was not regarded. Wherfore the Lorde Ferreis was straightly commaunded to appese their rage, for with him thei came thether, whiche with greate pain and entreatie theim appesed : and then all the Welshemen were commaunded to the felde, and to depart the toune and so wer all other capitaines, and after diverse of the hed rioters wer apprehended and sore punished for example. And when al thynges necessary were prepared, the duke issued out of Calice and toke the field, and ordeined his Marshall, and capitain of the vantgard the lord Sandes, capitain of his right wyng sir William Kyngston, and capitain of his lefte wing, sir Everard Dighby, sir Edward Guyldford Marshal of Calice, was capitain of all the horsmen, sir Richard Wingfeld, capitain of the rereward : then the duke with all his army, as capitain of the middle ward, with standerdes, baners and penons, displaied, marched forward in good ordre of battail and came to a place called Kalkewel, and there lodged the xix. day of September. In whiche

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whiche place diverse souldiers, of Cariers and up lande men, whiche were unmete to the warre, (for every thyng to theim was pain) fell sycke and diseased, wherfore the duke gave them leave by pasport to returne.

And on the xxii. day of September, he toke up his campe and came to Hamswell, and there pitched his fielde, he thus liyng in abode for the armie of Flaunders, which promised to joyne with hym, which as then were not come to S. Omers. He entending not to lye still idely, sent Clarenseux kyng of armes, to somon the castle called Bel castle, to yelde to him, or els he would destroie it with fire and sworde, the officer of armes dyd his message accordingly, to whom the capitain answered, that he would deliver no castle to the duke, and if the duke came thether, he should nothyng get, for he said he was sure of suche rescues, that should not be to the dukes avantage: whiche with this answer returned toward the duke and in the way he met the lorde Sandes, and the lord Ferreis in array of battaill, with v. C. horsmen, and i. M. fotemen, to whom he rehersed the answer, then said the lordes we must compell him, if otherwise he wil not. Then the master of thordinance was commaunded to prepare for a batrie, which was done, and thether came v. c. horsemen of Burgonions, and v. C. fotemen, then thordinance with great difficultie was brought nere the castle, and all though it wer night, the gonnes cesed not and bet the place sore, they within defended the best that they might, and when the day began to spring, the lordes caused to blow to thassault, which hearyng the capitain of the castle said to his companions, that they were not able to abide thassault, and that their succors failed them, wherfore of necessitie they muste delyver the castle, wherto they agreed, and so he yelded the castle, his lyfe onely saved, and all other at the mercie of the duke, whiche pardoned theim, and toke them as prisoners, and delivered the castle to sir Willyam Skevyngton, whiche was shortly rased doune to the ground, the xxvii. day of September.

Mondaie beyng the xxviii. day of September, there was a proclamacion made in tharmy, how that Fraunces duke of Burbon, and Constable of Fraunce, was become frend to the kyng of Englande, and enemy to the Frenche kyng, and was sworne to the kyng of England, and had in his wages for the kyng of England x. M. Almaines to invade Fraunce, or to

to let the Frenche kynges purposes, and for this intent to him was sent money in no litle some, but the common people said, that never was Frencheman true to England, howbeit he was true as long as he lived.

To make this proclamacion more apparunt, you must understande that in this season the Frenche kyng was ruled by his mother the Countesse of Angulesme and the Admyrall of Fraunce called lorde Bonyuet whiche as was reported and sayd, loved the sayd lady as his paramor, of whiche all the court of Fraunce spake muche. These two persones so ruled the kyng, that what they sayd was done, and no judgement nor sentence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at whiche thing the nobles of Fraunce sore disdained and especially the lorde Fraunces duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce whiche having a suite for therledome of Montpelyer could not be heard speake nor his counsail neither. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this unkynd and unjust handlyng, came to the French kyng besechyng hym of justice and favor, whiche flateryng hym sayd, that al that was in his power to do he would gladly accomplish, and other answer had he none, and to encreace his grudge the more, the Frenche kynges mother made a title to the whole Duchy of Burbon and Averne, and the Admyrall and she so entised the kyng that he sayd openly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, whiche wordes reported to hym caused hym to hate mortally the Frenche kyng and his mother, and so in displeasure departed into his owne countrey. The kyng of England beyng hereof advertised, sent to the Duke of Burbon a knight of his Chamber called sir Jhon Russell a man well languaged, whiche wisely and covertly so behaved hymself, that he came to the duke to Molyns and knew all his entent how he would forsake his kyng, and serve the kyng of England and the Emperor agaynst the Frenche kyng, and therupon tooke his othe. The Frenche kyng not mistrustyng the allegiance of the duke of Burbon sent to the Duke to prepare hym to go into Italye, for he had prepared a great army to passe the mountaines agaynst the duke of Myllaine, in which army he had vi. M. men of armes, and xxv. M. fotemen. The duke hearyng hereof fained himselfe sicke, and the Frenche kyng passyng by Molyns

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Molyns visited and comforted him: to whom the duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horse-litter to be caried emptie, iii. dayes amongest a certayn of his souldiers as though he were there, but he hymselfe fled secretly into the Countye of Burgoyne pertainyng to the Emperor, where he retained x.M. Almaines to invade Fraunce assone as the Frenche kyng was passed the mountaines.

When the Frenche kyng heard of this, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his army, and sent his great Master to seaze al the dukes landes. Of all these doynges sir Jhon Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armye, and returned unespied, wherfore he deserved and had of the kyng and his counsaill great thankes. Whereupon the kyng caused the proclamacion to be made in the army, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the duke of Burbons power thei might do what they lust and be unfougt withal which so proved after. Whiche tidynges muche encoraged thenglishe souldiers.

After this proclacion, there wer tidynges brought to the army for a truethe, that one Hierome Vicount, a great familiar frende, with the duke of Myllayne entised by the French kyng, had almost slaine Fraunces duke of Myllain with a dagger behynd at his backe, with the whiche doyng the Frenche kyng above all persones fained himselfe to be moste displeased. The morowe beyng the xxix. daye of September the duke with his whole armi removed to Arde and there lodged, and the last dai of September he removed to a village called Alrke, and from thence the first day of October he came to a village betwen Tyrwin and saint Omers called Esqwerdes or Cordes, wher the duke lay and encamped himselfe abidyng his enemies.

Nowe must I returne to tell you what was done bewene Englande and Scotland this same season. Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was thus invadyng the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinkyng the war turned into Fraunce, and that nothyng should be attempted against them, began to robbe and spoyle on the Marches of England, whereof the kyng hearyng sent againe thither the valiant erle of Surray treasorer and Admyrall of England, whiche in all hast sped

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sped hym to the west Marches and sent for an army of vi.M. men, and with banner displayed entred by the dry Marches betyng doune castles and fortresses on every side. And although the Scottes be men of high corage, yet they seyng the wise conduict of the noble erle of Surray and his chosen company, durst not ones encounter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, tyll he came to the strong toune of Jedworthe, in whiche lay a great garrison of Scottishmen whiche did al the hurt they could to the Englishmen, and hardely in great nomber skyrmished with thenglishemen, so that on both partes divers wer slaine, but in the ende the Abbay, Castle, and toune of Jedworth were brent and all rased a sonder in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped hymself in the Scottishe ground abidyng battil, and lay there from the xxii. day of September to the xxv. day. Duryng whiche tyme he sent the lorde Daker of Gyldersland to a strong hold of Doncar called Fernhurst, the whiche castle stode very evill to come to, for the wayes wer hylly, stony, and full of marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the Englishemen so fiersly set on that they gat the castle, notwithstandyng that the Scottes fought valiauntly, and many of theim were taken, as Dan Car the lorde, the lorde of Gradon and divers other whiche was there taken, and so the lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordained to kepe the watche that night whiche set his watches and his wardes surely. In the night sodainly, C C C. good geldynges brake out of a pasture, whiche were in custodie of the sayd lord Dacres campe, and as beastes wodde and savage ranne enraged, and notwithstandyng that men dyd asmuche as they might to stoppe them, yet they ranne as thought they were in array of batayll, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armye founed *alarme*, the horse styll in array ranne to the campe where the erle lay and bare doune many persones in their waye, and so sodainly ranne away whether it was unknowen: the lorde Dacres men sayd that the devil was sene amongest them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

When the Erle of Surray departed from the borders in August as you have heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the duke of Albany of all their affaires, whiche was commyng

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commyng into Scotland. But when he heard that the Navy of England lay in wayte to fight with him, he durst not aventure, but sate styll: And when he heard there was no capitaines of name on the borders of England toward Scotland, he devised by policie that all his shippes should be removed to the haven of Brest, and sayd himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would not saile into Scotland that yere. So ranne the voyce al the coastes of Normandy and Britayne, and so passed tyll the ende of Septembre.

The kyng of England was enformed by suche as knew none other, that the Duke of Albany had broken his jorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherfore the kyng of England in the middest of September caused his shippes to be layde up in his haven tyl the next spryng: The duke of Albany beyng therof advertised boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with lxxii. sayle in sight passed by the West partes of England and coasted Wales, and so with great labor landed at Kyrcowbre in the West parte of Scotland with all his people the xxi. day of September whiche were in nomber iii. M. or there about, and with him was the traytor Richard Delapole.

When it was knowen in Scotland that the lorde Governor was landed, muche gladnes there was amongest the people. Then the duke was highly receyved and his people wel cherished, and then beganne a Parliament. The kyng of England hearyng that the duke of Albany was landed in Scotlande and was unfought withall, was not a litle displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed hym that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceyved him, but there was no remedye: Wherfore he made provisions and put all thynges in a readynes, yf he would attempt any thyng agaynst hym and his realme.

The Duke of Albany Governor of Scotland beyng in the Parliament of the realme, with great eloquence declared to them the love and favor that Fraunces the Frenche kyng bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch that he beyng advertised of the great murders, slaughters, and burnynges done by the Englishemen, thought that he suffred no lesse hurt and damage then they did, accomptyng himself one of their membres, and them likewise the membres of him and his realme, and for the revenging of the same, he to be partener as their member, and for the more credite he

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he shewed the Frenche kynges favorable letter, affirmyng his declaracion. When the letters wer red there start up a Baron of Scotland called the lorde Forbos, whiche sayd: the realme of Scotland for the love of Fraunce suffereth great paine as daily doth appere, for our nobles be slayn or taken, our cominalte murdered, our landes overrunne, our houses and fortresses brent and rased, the profites of our owne landes we lese: which misschief we nede not to have had, but for the love of Fraunce, and what helpeth Fraunce? A farre frend is not sone set. A mightie neighbor may be a cruel enemy. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbyd sayd the duke of Albany that Scotland ever should seke a new frende or profer their amitie, to the destroyers of their countrey and nacion, but you my lordes of Scotland are sufficient of your selfe to maintain your landes, libertie, and fredome against your comon enemyes thenglishemen. And therfore now let us together revenge the hurtes done to us and our countrey: And I on myne honor shal go with you, and therfore I have brought with me bothe treasure, men, and artillerie into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so do that all Christendome shall speake of our noble conquest. To the dukes request all the court of Parliament agreed and then wer commissions sent through Scotland and cryes made that al men shuld assemble at Doglas dale with vitaile for xxviii. daies. The Scotes in al hast prepared, so that the lordes wer come to the place appointed the xxviii. day of October, with vitaile, gunnes, and all other artillerie, and so came by easy jorneys to the ryver of Twede on a ground beside Hume castle, and from thence came to Cawdestrene and there lodged.

All this doyng the kyng of England knewe well, wherfore with all diligence he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent wherof there were iii. M. beryng cotes of armes with their power and strength, whiche all wer commaunded to resort to the erle of Surray with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appoynted to kepe Berwicke with vi. M. men, lest the Scottes therto would lay siege.

The duke of Albany whiche lay on the frontiers hearing of the Erle of Surreyes preparyng, sent to him an Herauld promisyng him of hys honor to geve him battaill, and yf he tooke

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tooke him in battail he would put him to curteous raunsome and his body to be safe: To whom the erle answered, that muche he thanked the duke of his offer, and that he would abide battail, promising him that he would geve him battail if he durst abide: and yf that the sayd duke were taken prisoner by hym or his menne he would strike of his head and send it to the kyng of England his Master, and bad that he should trust to none other, af whiche answere the duke of Albany and the Scottes toke great dispite.

The erle of Surray beyng at Alnwyke, to him came therles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lorde Clyfford, the lorde Dacres, the lorde Lumley, the lorde Ogle, the lorde Darcy, and many noble Knightes, Squiers and yomen, to the nomber of xl. M. And from the kynges court was sent to be at the batail sir Nicholas Carew Master of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edwarde Baynton and divers other. All this armye laye on the borders abidyng the Scottes commyng into Englande, whiche lay styll in Scotland and did nothyng till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent over the water into England iii. or iiii. M. men, to lay siege to a lytle castle called the Castle of Warke, whiche standeth nere the border: the great ordinaunce of Scotland sore bet the castle, and Dan Car and the Frenchemen whiche came out of Fraunce with the duke of Albany gave to the castle a strong assaut: within the castle was sir William Lyle with a C. persones, but the Scottes were so many in nomber, that they got the uttermoste warde called the Barnkyns where the beastes and barnes were, whiche seyng, the capitaine sent in all hast to the Erle of Surrey advertisyng him of their distres, whiche in all hast assembled his capitaines to reskue the castle, therby hopyng that Duke Jhon of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay styll about the castle continually shotyng ordinaunce Sonday and Monday the fyrst and second day of November, and then the Scottes thinkyng the place assautable, coragiously set on the castle and by strength entred the second warde. Sir Willyam Lyle perceivyng that the Scottes had gotten the false brayes and that nothing remained but only the inner warde or dongeon, sayd to his company, sirs for our honor and manhod let us issue and fight with the proude Scottes and stately Frenchmen, for more

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more shall our honor be to dye in fight, then to be murthered with gunnes, to the whiche his company that were left agreed: for of his C. men he had lost almost xl. at the other assautes. Then they issued out boldly and shot coragiously as men that shot for a vauntage, and with shotyng and fightyng they drave their enemies clene out of the place and slew of them and chiefly of the Frenchmen CCC. whiche lay there dead in sight when the Erle came thither, beside suche as dyed of woundes and were drouned. Then the Scottes removed their ordinaunce, in great hast over the water, and by that tyme was the Erle of Surrey come with v. M. men on horsbacke and all his great army folowed and was very sory that his enemies were gone, and muche praysed sir Willyam Lyle for his valiauntnes.

When the Duke of albany and the lordes of Scotland knew that the erle of Surrey approched with his puissant army, they thought it not convenient to jeoparde all the nobilitie of Scotlande in one felde, consideryng their chaunce, x. yeres before, and therfore they concluded to returne, and so on the sayd second day of November in the night the duke with all his armye retreated more for his suertie then honor.

The horsemen of Scotland kept the fordes that no man should passe to greve the fotemen as they returned, and when all the baggages wer gone they cast them selfes in a plumpe and returned.

When the day appeared, then the Englishmen might plainly see the Scottes how they fled fiftie mennes thickenes, many a lusty Englishman would faine have folowed them on horsbacke, and so would therle of Surray with all his heart, but his commission was only to defend the realme and not to invade Scotland, whiche thing hym sore displeased. Thus brake up the great army of Scotland to the great rebuke of the duke of Albany and the nobles of Scotland whiche ii. yere together had made bragges and assembles and durst not abide battaile. The Scottes made much bragges that they had beaten doune the walles of Warke castle, but they spake nothyng of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly they returned and would not abide. After this returne quene Margaret of Scotland and mother to the yong kyng, sent to her brother the kyng of England for an abstinence of warre to be taken betwene the realme of England and Scotland, to thentent that some way might

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might be taken, that an amitie might be had betwene them: whiche request to her was graunted, and so the great armye of England was dissolved and the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast.

A present sent by the Emperor to the kyng.

In this season the Emperor Charles sent to the kyng of England ii. Mules trapped in crimosyn velvet curiously enbrodered, al the buckles, stiroppes, and all suche other garnishynges were silver and gilt of mervailous connyng worke. He sent also xi. Genettes ful goodly to behold trapped with russet velvet richely wrought, and iiii. speres, and ii. Javelynes of straunge tymber and worke richely garnished, and v. brace of greyhoundes: and to the quene he sent two Mules with riche trappers and high chayers after the Spanishe fashion, all these presentes wer thankefully received both of the kyng and quene.

Now let us returne to the Duke of Suffolke whiche lay at Cordes or Esquerdes the xx. day of September and thither came to him the army of Flaunders, wherof was capitaine the lorde of Isilsteyne whiche had with him of Spaniardes, Almaines, Cleves and other iii. M. fotemen and v. C. horsemen well appareled for the warres in all pointes.

The duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forward in wete wether makyng bridges and wayes, ever lokyng for battel, and on the xvii. day of October he sent the lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him iii. M. men to a good toune called Anker whiche accompanied with divers knightes and gentlemen in good order of battail marched towarde the toune. The Frenchemen perceivyng the Englishmen commyng toward their toune, fled out as fast as they might, and left the toune desolate: then entred the Englishmen and had there a great botie and toke the castle called Bone gard and therin put a garrison of Englishemen, whereof was capitaine the lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduict vitailers to the armye, whiche nowe was farre from any succours of the Englishe part. In this toune was an abby of Monkes whiche received humbly the lordes and nobles of England whiche to theim did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the duke.

After this, the xix. daye, the Duke with his armye passed to a village called Quede: and there, after long counsailyng it was determined that the whole army should passe to a strong

strong toune and wel fortefied called Bray, whiche toune was well ordinaunced and had in it xvi. C. men of warre, the capitaine therof was called Adrian, and for succours to the toune were come Mounsire Pontdormy, the Vicount Larnerdam, the Vicount Turraine, Mounsire Applyngcort, and Mounsire Dampney, with v. C. horsemen, so that in the toune beside the inhabitauntes were ii. M. good men. This toune standeth on the river of Some xxiiii. Englishe myle from Arras, and xiiii. myles above Amyas: This toune was well diched and strengthned on every syde.

The xx. day of this moneth the Duke commaunded al his great ordinaunce to be brought by iiii. of the clock in the morning before the toune of Bray, they that had the charge therof so manfully acquited them that notwithstanding al the damage that their enemies could do, brought the ordinaunce before the toune at the houre appointed. Then eche part shot dredfully at other, but the Englishe gunners shot so well, that the walles of the toune were beaten doune and rased with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by ix. of the clocke the toune was made assautable. Then the duke caused to blow to thassaut. Then the Englishmen and Flemynges and Burgonions lept furth quickely, and notwithstandyng that the diches wer depe, yet they so coragiously entered by the good comfort of the lorde Sandes and other noble men that they gat the diches. The Frenchemen perceivyng that the toune should be gotten, hastely made traynes of gunpouder from strete to strete and house to house, saiyng that the Englishmen after their entry into the toune would fal to pillage, and then sodainly sodain fyer should destroy them. This was the provision of the Frenchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen wer enteryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with pikes, crosbowes, handgunnes, and halbardes, but they were to weke, for on all partes entred thenglishmen and sodainly the Frenchmen fledde and the Englishemen folowed and killed and slew in every part.

Nowe you must understand that this toune of Bray standeth on the river of Some whiche is there divided in divers braunches and betwene every braunche is a marishe ground, where on the farside of the toune was fortefied a Bulwarke ful of ordinaunce to kepe the passage over the water, and the Frenchmen had losed the plankes of the bridge

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bridge nere a myle above Bray, and the horsmen of Fraunce passed by a myll which was to the Frenchfotemen a great ayd, for thei stode and kept the passage til the fotemen wer come over the bridge, and then they plucked away the planckes of the bridge, so that noman shuld folow, but ever thenglishmen folowed and cast plankes on the bridge and passed over the bridge, in whiche passyng divers wer drouned, but with great travail al men passed, horsmen and fotemen, and fiersly assauted the Bulwarke and toke it with all the ordinaunce, and in it was taken capitaine Adrian and capitaine Ulterlew. The Englishe horsmen folowed the Frenchemen and divers of them wer slaine and taken, sir Robert Jernyngham brake a spere on the lorde Pountdormy. The lorde Leonard Gray did valiauntly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchemen issued out of the toune, they forgatte not to lay a matche to the traine of gunnepouder whiche they had made, whiche in short space set the toune al on fyer, so that when thenglishmen returned again, al was on fyer, so that there they had litle profite but wyne, whiche to them did great pleasure. This was the toune of Bray taken and destroyed the xx. day of October.

The duke considerynge that little succours were for him and his souldiers in the toune of Bray because the sayd toune was consumed with fyer, he therfore commaunded the bridges to be wel repayred for to passe over the great river of Some into the realme of Fraunce: and when the passage was sure, the lord Sandes the xxi. day of October in the mornyng was prest to passe over with the vaward. Then some gentlemen sayd that they would passe no farther forward, and divers souldiers were on the same opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past over the river, they were past all succours and vitail, none could be brought to them. By reason of this noyse the souldiers stayed, which the lord Sandes perceiving, sayd to the Welshmen which wer evil willyng to passe the river: sirs sayd he, behold what I do, and with that he toke a banner of sainct George and sayd, as many as love the kyng of England and be true to hym and to the croune, folow me, and then he and sir Wylliam Kyngston set forward and passed the water, whiche there runneth in thre streames, then all other persones coragiously folowed, and the ordinaunce and vitailes.

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After the foreward folowed the duke and al his battail: At this tyme the army was sore minished by reason many wer diseased and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the settyng out of Calayce. When thenglishemen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this army came to a toune called Kappe and there encamped theimselfes, all the inhabitauntes were fled bothe out of the toune and Castle: there thenglishemen found C. tonne of wyne, and other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker knowing that the duke was passed the river of Some, rased the toune and castle, and came and joyned with the dukes army at Kappe.

There the duke caused proclamacions to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vitaile the armye of Englande should be well entreated and have their vitailes well payed for, and safe goyng and commyng, by the whiche proclamacion the host was well vitailed, for the people of the countrey resorted with al thinges necessarie.

The Duke thus liyng at Cap sent to the toune of Roy to yeld theim to the kyng of England. The toune perceivyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliver the toune to the Duke. This was a strong toune well walled, dyched and ordinaunced but not manned, the Duke sent thither sir Richard Cornwall and other with iiii. C. men to receive the toune, whiche went thither in good array and had the toune to theim delivered and then they sette the banner of sainct George in the highest part of the toune, and full well this garrison kept the toune of Roy til the duke came thither with his whole armye.

The Duke and his armye the xxv. day of the sayd moneth removed to a vilage called Lyhome, and had there great pillage: for this toune was muche haunted of marchauntes and there kept great markettes. The next day he removed to Davenker, and the xxvii. day he removed and came before the strong toune of Mountdedier, where for defence of warre lacked neither diches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsemen of the Englishe army rode about the toune to vew it, at whom the capitaines caused divers pieces to be losed whiche shewed well their strength. The duke sent an officer of armes to somon

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somon the capitain to deliver the toune: the officer departed, and with him a trumpet whiche blew before the gate, but no person would answere, because they would have no Sommons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyrrers made profer afore the toune, out of the whiche issued a great companignie of horsemen and skyrmished with the Dukes horsemen and fought valiantly, but at the last xl. of the horsemen were taken, with whiche the lorde Roche Baron capitaine of the toune was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintaine the toune agaynst the whole armye. Then the Duke of Suffolke pytched his felde and layd his siege rounde about the toune of Mountdedier and kept good watche and warde on every side: whiche thing the lorde Roche Baron perceivyng comforted his menne of warre and bad them not be afrayd but to be of good corage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothyng. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from reskew, and that liyng still and nothyng doyng was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the toune of Moundedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen, wherfore he sent for all the lordes and capitaines of his army and muche praised their hardynes and sayd that the noble corrage that he sawe in theim did muche avaunce hym to sette forwarde in all thynges, the prayse wherof should be to them and not to him, and therfore nowe he encoraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doyng, for with Goddes grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next mornyng before the toune, to the whiche all the lordes agreed and praysed muche the dukes corage and forwardnes.

Then was sir Willyam Skevyngton knight, Maister of the ordinaunce commaunded to prepare for the battery, whiche with all diligence made trenches, and prepared all thinges mete for the purpose. In this season sir Jhon Wallop knight had with him almost a M. proper men and hardy, havyng litle wages or none whiche lived alonely on their aventure, wherfore of some they were called adventurers, of some they were called kreekars. These men wer light, hardy, and politike, and by their manhod and hardines had robbed many tounes, taken many prisoners, with great boties, and daily brought to the army Horses, Mares vitaile, cloth, corne, and

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and other necessaries whiche might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchemen and especially they of villages and passengers wer sore afrayde, for they were never ydle but doyng some thyng in one part or other. The lorde Pountdormy, or Pountreny hearyng Mountdedyer was besieged, called to him divers great lordes and capitaines to the nomber of v. C. menne of armes and dunilaunces, and a great nomber of fotemen, entendyng to bryng gunnepouder and other necessaries to the toune of Mountdedier: and as they wer thither commyng by night, Thomas Palmer, capitain of the skout watche of thenglishe army them askried and skyrmished with them although they wer more in nomber: manfully fought the Frenchemen, but for all that they were compelled to flee backe, and then Englishmen theim folowed and slewe divers, and two speres were broken on the brother of the lorde Pountdorny, but by the swyftnes of his horse he saved himselfe, and in this chase were C. prisoners taken whiche muche rejoysed the Englishmen.

When the Master of the ordinaunce had all thinges ready, at the houre of iiii. of the clocke in the mornyng he discharged the ordynaunce continually in suche fashion, that by viii. of the clocke the xxviii. day of October the walles were made lowe and the toune assautable. All whiche while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the toune tyll the walles and toune were beaten doune. The capitaine of the toune perceivyng this, called to him al the capitaines, declaryng to them that their toune was in iiii. houres made assautable, and that surely the Englishmen would assaute the toune whiche should be to their confusion, wherfore he asked their advise what was best to be done, al they answered, do as you will: Then he went into a tower and caused a trompet to blowe and set furth a banner of truce. Then the duke commaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir Willyam Skevyngton came to the walles and demaunded what they would, and the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the duke for the love of the kyng of England and his honor, to graunt to him and thother gentlemen that wer there, lycence to depart with life, bagge and baggage, they would deliver the toune of Mountdedier. Then sir Willyam Skevyngton made report to the duke whiche therto consented, saiyng: they be men of warre, their riches is not great. Then the lorde Sandes and divers other wer appointed

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appointed to receive the toune, and so they entred and set their standardes on the top of the gates, and toke the keyes of all the strong houses, towers, and Bulwarkes. The Frenchemen were readye to depart with trussages and cariages, with Crosbowes, Pykes, and Handgunnes, with whiche doyng the lorde Sandes and the Englishemen which wer within the toune wer not content, and sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this point was muche alteracion and the Frenchemen were stayed, but the lorde Roche Baron gave many fayre wordes and passed forwarde with a red standard, with a whitte crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the standard and plucked it in pieces. Then sayd the Lord Roche Baron that it was ungently done: To whom he answered that he should beare no standard there lyke a conqueror. Then after longe disputacion the Frenchemen sayd, that it was promised theim that they should have their weapons and baggage, and so upon that they were suffered to depart. The fotemen likewyse had a standard before theim which was rent by sir Robert Jernyngham. The nomber whyche departed truely accompted, were twoo thousand footemen, five hundreth horsemen and odde well and warlike appointed, and they left muche baggage behynd them because they sawe the Englishemen so fast come into the toune, they wer in feare of losse of all.

When the Frenchemen wer departed, the duke with his whole army entred the toune and there the Englishemen founde fine fetherbeddes, napery, coveringes, and muche houshold stuffe, and especially of wyne greate plentie, and there the armye rested till the laste day of October, and then were all the gates of the toune rased and throwen doune, and all the Bulwarkes likewyse. Then the duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken and so removed to the toune of Roye, where he and all hys armye rested for a while: wherof they were glad, for they had travailed sore, and the weather was wette and colde. On the feast of all sainctes called Alhallon Daye, thee Duke in thee chiefe Churche of Roy made knightes thee Lorde Harbart, the Lorde Powes, Oliver Manners, Arthur Poole, Richard Sandes, Robert Jerningham, Robert Salisbury, Edmonde Beningfelde, Richard, Corbet, Thomas Wenteworthe William Storton, Water Mantel, George Warran, Edwarde Seymour

Seymour after erle of Hartfoord, and now Duke of Somerset, and mooste worthy Governor of the kinges majesties persone and Protector of all his realmes, dominions and subjectes. THE XV. YERE [1523-24]

The morow after, the army removed to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions beganne to waxe wery, and so dyd thee Englishemen, for every day was foule wether and raine bothe daie and night. Wherfore diverse compaignies fell to grudgyng sayng, now you may see that by our removing we shall bee ledde from place to place all this wynter, whiche is to thee utter losse of our lives: for daylye wee see that our company dyeth no smal nombre, (and trueth it was that some dyed but not many) thei saied farther, the Burgonions have the greate gaine and do least for it, for they have wagons and cary their booties to theyr countrey: whiche is nere hand, and we go before and fight, and wee have no meanes to convey any thing into our countrey for lacke of carryage, and so we bete the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was seassed by gentle woordes for a tyme.

In these jorneys was commonly spoken that the duke of Burbon with his x. M. Almaines would have invaded Fraunce and soo joyned wyth this army, but the truth was contrary, for he turned his host another way and went into province and layde siege to Marcelles, wherof the duke beyng advertised, not a litle mused, and also seyng his menne daily fall sicke, was sory, and yet he so comforted theim that every man was glad to folowe his wyll and entent.

On the vi. day of November the lorde Sandes beyng capitayne of the foreward, and the duke of the middle ward, and sir Richard Wyngfeld capitaine of the rereward came in order of battaill prest to fight, to a village called Veane and there rested for that night, and the morow after the whole army returned agayne over the water of Some, and came to a place called Beaufford: At this passage the duke made knightes Jhon Dudley, and Robert Utreyght esquiers.

The viii. day the duke removed to a place called Mount sainct Martyne a very mete place for an armye, and then was the dukes instruccions loked upon by the capitaines, and they perceivyng that they hard nothyng of the duke of Burbons commyng, ayde nor counsail, all they thought and determined to send the lorde Sandes in post to the kyng, to

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to declare all the case as it stode and their necessitie accordyng as he hym selfe knew and saw in all pointes: whiche lorde Sandes tooke great paine and made good diligence toward the kyng, and while he was ridyng, the duke removed his armye to a place called Permount and there lodged for a tyme to rest, and the army was well vitailed, but ever the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

A great frost.

After the great raynes and wyndes that had fallen, came a fervent frost so sore that many a souldier dyed for coulde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nayles of their handes, whiche was to them a great grefe. The duke all this notwithstandyng remembryng that he came not thither to lye styl, the xiii. day removed to a place two myle from the castle of Bowhen and still it frised, insomuche that the master of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheles of his ordinaunce on hardles for sinkyng. In the mornyng the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed, home, home, the Krekers hearyng that, cryed hang, hang. For whiche matter devysion was like to have fallen, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford capitaine of the horsmen vewed the castle of Bowhen or Boghan, whiche ever was thought to be impregnable, but he judged it might be wonne, for the castle was invironed with Marryses, so that to no mans judgement it was possible to wynne it: But nowe he perceived that the frost was so great and strong that it might be beseaged, and all that night it fresed agayne: wherfore he desired the Duke to geve hym leave to assaute it whiche thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set furth over the marrish. When they within the castle perceived that the marrishe fayled theim, they were sore dismayed. Then sir Edward Guildeford shot thre great pieces at the castle, and the castilian shot thre pieces agayne. Then as the Englishe gunners wer preparing to the battery, the capitain seyng his castle could not hold, by reason that the marishe failed, and that he coulde defende none assault, delivered the castle to him to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of Englande, and after a small communicacion had betwene the sayed sir Edwarde Guylforde and the capitaine, the capitaine with all his retinue departed levyng behynd the ordinaunce of bombardes, curtawes, and demycourtaux, slinges, cannons, volgers,

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volgers, and other ordinaunce, there were lxxvi. pieces, plentie of pellettes and pouder. The duke of Suffolke perceivynge that this castle stode on the border of Henaude: Wherfore the more to please the Henawders he made capitaine of the same castle of Boghan the Seneshall of Henaude, to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England. In this place the army was evill vitailed, because the Frenchemen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitaile should passe over the river: wherfore the Duke sent to them of Henaude and specially to theim of Valencien to have ayde of vitaile, which of their litle sent to the army a litle, but yet it dyd them some service, and all this while the fervent frost with bitter windes continued, which caused many people to dye: yet still lay the army abidyng the answer of the lord Sandes, whiche as you have heard rode in post and somuche travailed that he came to the kyng of England to his castle of Wyndsore and there declared to the kynge his message, whiche was that his people whiche wer in the Frenche ground abode much misery, for the wether was wet, the wayes depe, long nightes and short dayes great jorneys and litle vitaile, which caused the souldiers daily to dye. Also they trusted when they passed the seas accordyng to their instruccions to have had ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whom sith their departyng they never heard worde) wherfore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of youre army have sent me to your highnes to declare their state and condicion, their good will to tary, and the evil chaunces which daily happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayd the kyng, all this we knewe before your commyng: wherfore we have appointed the lorde Mountjoy with vi. M. men to passe the seas for the relefe of our army, whiche lorde Mountjoy is almost in a redynes: For we will in no wise that the army shall breake.

Then the kyng came to Westminster to the Cardinals place and there received letters from the duke of Suffolke by sir Robert Jernyngham of the gettyng of the castle of Boghan or Bowen: wherfore incontinent it was by the kyng and his counsaill determined that the lord Mountjoy shoulde make spede, whiche did suche diligence that many of his souldiers were come to London well harnissed and weponed redy to passe the seas. Wherfore the kyng sent in all hast sir

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sir Robert Jernyngham again to declare to the duke the kinges pleasure and what ayde was commyng towarde him. But or sir Robert Jernyngham could come to the duke the armye was removed from Boghan and brent the toune, and so came to the citie of Valencine in Henaude, and there layde up their ordinaunce and from thence came to the citie of Turnay (whiche then was under the Emperor and out of the Frenche kynges handes) and so toke their jornay homewarde thorow Flaunders and the army there broken and dispatched. But when the duke mette with sir Robert Jernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kynges mynde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiers, whiche could not be, for many Englishemen shipped at Andwarpe, and many at Sluyes, and at Newport and other havens, and they that were at Calayce were steyed for a tyme, but when the Duke sawe that he coulde not bryng all his army together scacely the iiii. part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of this breakyng up of the armye were letters sent to the kyng, which incontinent stopped the lorde Mountjoy and sent his men into the countrey againe. The Duke and other capitaines hearyng of the kynges displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their frendes that they had perfite knowlege that the Duke of Burbon had broken up his campe for the extremitie of the Wynter, and also shewed that their souldiers dyed, and vitaill failid, whiche caused them to breke the army, for of truth the souldiers would not abide: with which reasons the kyng was somwhat appeased and so on good hope the duke came to Calayce the xii. day of December, and there abode long, till their frendes had sued to the kyng for their returne. And when it was graunted and that they were returned, the Duke and the capitaines came not to the kynges presence in a long season, to their great heavynes and displeasure: But at the laste all thinges were taken in good part and they well received and in great love, favor, and familiaritie wyth the kyng.

Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was in Fraunce and the Earle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that every man that was worth xl.ł. should pay the whole subsidie before graunted out of hand and before the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipacion,

cion, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing commyng before his time or season: This terme was new to the cominaltie, but they payd wel for their learnyng, for their money was paied out of hand without delay.

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The kynge this yere kept his Christmas solempnely at his castle of Wyndsore and thither came to him the third day of Januarye the erle Pountiver of the royal bloud of Brytaigne and pretendyng to be duke of the same, whiche was nere cosyn to the duke of Burbon and bannished Fraunce. This erle came hastely from the duke of Burbon and was well entertained and feasted of the kyng, and after answere made to him by the kyng, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd duke into the countrey of Province.

In the same season was brought to the court a gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Stewart taken on the sea with divers letters by one Water Jago a yoman of the kynges, with divers letters from the duke of Albany to the Frenche kyng, by reason wherof the kyng knew muche of their counsaill. This Gentleman payed raunsome and was very sone redemed.

The xix. day of January vi. fayre shippes of Fraunce well appointed, mette with a shippe of the kynges of England called the Kateryne Galley a shippe of xl. tonne, the capitain wherof was one Jhon Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a lande: But he so encoraged his menne that all feare was set aside, and ever as the Frenchemen approched, they bet them of with arrowes, pykes, and fightyng, and styll this continued from iiii. of the clocke in the mornyng tyll ix. of the clocke, and ever on the coste of England, and the Englishmen dyd the best they could to save themselfes: For by that tyme she had spent her pouder, arrowes with shotyng, and her bylles with hewyng, and her pykes with kepyng them of from commyng aborde, and all the company almost sore hurte, and the capitaine wounded to the death, so that they had no other remedy but to fayle. This chace was perceived by one called capitain Markham, capitain of the barke of Sandwyche, which manfully called his men together out of Sandwyche haven and with good wynd came to reskue the Kateryne Galley. The vi. shippes perceivyng that, left their chace and made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The capitaine coragiously

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coragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his ship defensable. The Frenchmen sette on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the Englishe ship. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the Frenche shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly agayne and when the Frenchemen profered to enter, the Englishmen bet them of with bylles. The Frenchemen at last with a great gunne bet doune the toppe of the barke and slewe the men in the same, and lastly thei strake doune his Mast. This conflict continued from x. of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shift, but to faile: and ever the Englishmen shot arrowes, and while thenglishmen had any arrowes the Frenchemen durst not enter: But when theyr arrowes were spent, the Frenchemen came aborde all at ones and entred the barke. In thys fight were slaine of Frenchmen out of hand xxvii. and lxxx. sore hurt, and of the Englishe were slaine xxiii. What shoulde I saye, the Englishemen fought valiauntly, but they were to weake for vi. tall shippes. Wherfore they were taken and brought to Depe for a prise, but the Frenchemen sayd they never bought prise so dere. After this Jhon Maryner capitaine of the Kateryne galey dyed, and many Frenchemen that wer hurt dyed at Depe, so that neither part wanne greatly.

An insurrecccion moved at Coventry.

In the last moneth called December were taken certain traytors in the citie of Coventry, one called Fraunces Philippe scholemaster to the kynges Henxmen, and one Christopher Pykeryng clerke of the Larder, and one Antony Maynvile gentleman, which by the persuasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to have taken the kynges treasure of his subsidie as the Collectors of the same came towarde London, and then to have araised men and taken the castle of Kylingworth, and then to have made battaile against the kyng: wherfore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthony wer hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne the xi. day of Februarye, the residue that were taken, were sent to the citie of Coventry and there wer executed. One of the kynges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

The xvii. day of January there was a Fayer or market at the toune of Marguyson in the French kynges dominions beside Calayce, and for defence of the people and their marchaundise, there wer appointed CC. men in harnes wel weaponed: The

The souldiers of Guysnes hearyng of this, departed in the night and came nere to the toune of Marguyson and closly kept themselfes tyll the Market was fayre and at the best, then the Englishmen which wer lxx. archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchemen stode manfully at their defence with handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishmen shotte so wholy together that they drave the Frenchmen out of the toune, and would for succors have taken the Churche, but the Englishemen were betwene theim and the Churche, so that thei had none other remedye but to flee and many Frenchmen were slaine. Capitain Jhon de Pound, and capitain Jhon de Babage and divers other were taken prisoners, and divers marchauntes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchemennes wagons to Guysnes and on Englishman slaine but divers were sore hurt.

The fyrst day of February the valiant knight sir Robert Jernyngham and with him fifty demylaunces of the garrison of Calayce skoured the countrey to Odirsael and there toke a C. hedde of beastes, by that doyng an askry rose through the countrey, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the nomber of xii. score, and or Sir Robert and his company came to Houndyngbrige they were beset round about, so that of necessitie thei must fight, the Frenchmen set on with handgunnes, crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encountre, but the Englishemen as menne desperate (because of the nomber) fought so fiersly that they caused the Frenchmen to geve backe and slewe many of them and toke xiii. prisoners, and in the chace they toke vii. more which made up xx. Then the sayd sir Robert returned with his botie and prisoners and lost noman, but almoste all were hurt.

The x. day of Marche the kyng havyng a newe harnes made of his owne devise and fashion, suche as no armorer before that tyme had seen, thought to assaye the same at the tilte, and appointed a Justes to serve him. On fote were appointed the lorde Marques Dorset and the Earle of Surrey, the kyng came to the one ende of the tylt, and the Duke of Suffolke to the other: then a gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the kyng is come to the tyltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my fayth, for my head piece taketh from me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the

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The jeoperdy that the kynge was in at a Justes.

the Kyng had his spere delivered him by the Lorde Marques, the viser of his headpece beyng up and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked. Then the gentleman sayd to the duke, sir the kyng commeth, then the duke set forward and charged his spere, and the kyng likewise unadvisedly set toward the duke: the people perceivyng the kinges face bare, cryed hold, hold, the duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the kyng remembred that his viser was up or no few could tell: Alas what sorow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the dukes spere strike on the kynges hedpiece: For of a suertie the duke strake the king on the brow right under the defence of the hedpece on the very coyffe scull or bassenetpece where unto the barbet for power and defence is charneld, to whiche coyffe or bassenet never armorer taketh hede, for it is evermore covered with the viser, barbet and volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge: But when the spere on that place lighted, it was great jeopardy of death insomuche that the face was bare, for the Dukes spere broke all to shyvers, and bare the kynges viser or barbet so farre backe by the countre buffe that all the kynges headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were muche blamed, and so was the lord Marques for the deliveryng of the spere when his face was open, but the kyng sayd that none was to blame but himself, for he entended to have sayed him selfe and his sight. The duke incontinently unarmed him, and came to the kyng, shewyng hym the closenes of his sight, and sware that he would never runne against the kyng more: But yf the kynge had been a lytle hurte, the kynges servauntes woulde have put the Duke in jeopardy. Then the kynge called his Armorers and put all his peces together and then toke a spere and ranne vi. courses very well, by the which all men might perceive that he had no hurt, whiche was great joy and comfort to all his subjectes there present.

In the ende of Februarye foure Frenche shippes chased the Fysher botes of Rye to the verye shore, and when the fludde was gone, would have taken the botes and came a lond with pikes, but the fishers threw stones, and one archer shotte and slewe a Frencheman whiche helde up a basket and bad shote Englisheman shote, and the Englisheman shot through the basket and slewe him, and so they saved their botes,

botes, and when the fludde came, the Frenchemen sette up their sailes, and as thei were passyng, the Englishemen of warre mette with theim and tooke two of the sayd shippes, and the other two fled. THE XV. YERE [1523-24]

In this yere the kynge sent the Lorde Morlay sir Wyllyam Hosy knight and doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando archduke of Austrice and brother to the Emperour Charles with the order of the Garter which in the toune of Norryngberge received the same, where then were all the princes of Germanye assembled at a counsell or Dyet, against the byshoppe of Rome, against whom the Germaynes put a C. greves.

The xiii. day of Aprill one Capitain Breerton one of the capitaines of the aventurers at Guysnes with xvi. tall men came to a village called Waste and there toke a bootie of beastes, by whiche takynge an askry rose, and by chaunce certain of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abrode and by the cry of the people came where the Englishmen were, the Frenchmen wer CC. horsmen and with great cryes environed the Englishemen about, so that the Englishemen coulde make no defence. Then capitain Brearton called to the capitain of the Frenchemen and sayd, sir I am a gentleman and this enterprice was myne, I have brought these good felowes to this jeopardy, wherfore we yelde us al prisoners to you, and so thei delivered their weapons, the capitain was a gentleman and gently them received, then to the men of warre drewe all the peisantz or chorles of the countrey nye hand to the nomber of vii. or viii. score, whiche desired to bye the Englishmen that wer taken, the Frenchmen were content and toke money, then the Englishmen were delivered to the uplandishe people, and the men of warre rode away.

Capitaine Brearton murdered.

When the menne of warre wer departed the rybaudes with pykes, javelyne, and knyves, fell on the Englishemen whiche had no weapon and them slewe all xvii. and cutte them in pieces the moste shamefully that ever was sene.

When knowlege thereof was brought to the capitain of Guisnes sir Jhon Gage, he sent for the aventurers willyng theim to revenge their capitaines death. So all the adventurers the xiiii. day gathered together to the nomber of xl. archers and pykes, and by good guide the next day in the mornyng they came to the same village of Wast and there toke xxxvii. prisoners and moste part were at the murder of Brearton and

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The murder revenged.

and his company, and of the xxxvii. they slew xxxvi. and so they left one and caried him with them, but or they departed they set the toune on fyer and spared nothyng, their ire was so great: the menne of warre of Fraunce costed the Englishmen, but they would not medle with them in that rage.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frencheman that was left on live to declare their message to the capitaine of Bullein, whiche was that after that day they would save neither man, woman nor child that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the peysantz had done to capitaine Brearton and his company, with whiche message the Frenchmen were discontent and sayd that the villaynes deserved to have vengeaunce for their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes of Emphimerydes and Pronosticacions made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore affrayd for the sayd writers declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche conjunction that by waters and fluddes many people shoulde perishe, Insomuche that many persones vitailed them selfes and went to high groundes for feare of drounyng, and specially one Bolton which was Prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smythfeld builded him an house upon Harow of the hill, only for feare of this flud, and thether he went and made provision for all thinges necessarye within him, for the space of two monethes: But the faythfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February, wherfore when it began to raine in February the people wer much afrayd, and some sayd now it beginneth, but many wisemen whiche thought that the worlde coulde not be drouned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their truste in him onely, but because thei thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stande styll and not grinde, they provided for meale, and yet God be thanked ther was not a fairer season in many yeres, and at the last the Astronomers for their excuse said that in their computacion they had mistaken and miscounted in their nomber an hundreth yeres.

Bolton prior of sainct Bartholomewes.

The Emperor Charles which also was enemy to the French kyng, seyng the great army that the kyng of England his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraunce that joyneth to Spain,

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Spain, and in especially he imagined how to recover the toune of Fountraby, whiche the Frenchmen before that tyme had gotten: wherfore he assembled a great puissaunce and made capitain the lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castyle, which with great diligence came before the toune of Fountraby whyche was strongly fortefied and the capitain therof was a Naveroys: but when the capitaine and his compaigny sawe the toune besieged with suche a puissaunce, and also that the sea was so narowly kept that they coulde not have vitail nor succour, they determined to geve up the toune: but yet the capitaine of a high stomacke shotte out his ordinaunce and sent his trompet to the capitain of the Spanyardes to knowe what prisoners he had of his, and for the communicacion thereof he desired abstinence of warre tyll he had communed with the counsail of the Spanish host, whiche to him was graunted. Then was communicacion for five dayes and nothyng ended, for the Spanyardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the vi. daye it was concluded that the toune shoulde be delivered with ordinaunce and artillery and all the men of warre to depart wyth bagge and baggage, and so the xxvii. daye of February was the toune of Fountrabye brought againe to the handes of the Emperor, and he that was capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Naver by the Emperor and became his man.

The bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seyng the great warres that were this yere on all parties and in especial betwene the Emperor and the kyng of England on the one partie against Fraunces the Frenche kyng and his alyes, sent an archebishop of the realme of Naples fyrste to the French kynge, and after to the Emperor, whiche declared to the Frenche kyng the manyfolde mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for unjuste warre and specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of christen bloude, and shewed farther that the sayd Frenche kyng made daily warre on the Emperor and the kyng of England without cause, but onely because he himselfe would do no right to them nor to their subjectes.

The Frenche kyng after counsaill taken answered, my lord Legate we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on us, and we stande at the defence, notwithstandyng our right is kept from us both the duchy of Myllain

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Myllain and realme of Naples by the Emperor and the usurped duke, to the whiche we have good title, and the kynge of England warreth on us without cause, notwithstanding that we have geven him and many lordes of his counsaill divers fayre pencions, not because we be afrayed of him, but because we woulde have his love and amitie, and when we perceived that he toke part with the Emperor our mortall enemy, we withdrewe our pencions as with right we might, and now with all his power he would conquere our good will, whiche is against reason, and we clayme nothing of him. Well sayed the ambassador, I wyll speake fyrst wyth the Emperor and after with the kyng of England, and then I will declare to you their rightes and demaundes, with whiche the Frenche kyng semed to be content.

Then the sayd ambassadour tooke his leave and in poste came to the Emperor in Spaine, and there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons, affirmyng that the warre was unjust and without reasonable cause made on the Frenche kyng as the sayd kyng affirmed. Then the Emperor like a noble prince answered, that the warres were never of his beginnyng: For the Frenche kynge or he wyst had taken the toune of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquere the realme of Naverne, and not with this contented, reteyned the Swyches which be the Emperors subjectes and caused them to be enemies to thempyre, and he also with helde the duchy of haut Burgoyne, and the countie of Arthoys with divers other countrys and seignories belongyng to hym: Wherfore his quarel was alway just, and because the college of Rome should perceive the whole cause of his warres, he delivered to the sayd ambassador a scedule, with whiche he departed, refusynge all gyftes which the Emperor offered him, and came againe to the Frenche kyng and rehersed to him all the Emperors saiyng, but the French kyng him selfe highly excused and sayd that he might not lese that his predecessors left him, and so the byshop of Romes ambassodor toke his leave and came into England.

After this Legate was departed from the Emperors court, ther came thither an Ambassador from Portyngale, whiche highly behaved him selfe, and when he came to the Emperors speche, he proudly sayd: Sir you that are the greatest prince of Christendome ought above all men to do justice and right,

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right, and to do wrong to no man, and where it is well knowen that by the labor, studye, and learnyng in Cosmography and Astronomy of us only Portingales, the trade to the parties of Inde or Indias were fyrst sought and found, and the fyrst labor in that behalfe was ours and the great innumerable riches whiche was spent for the searchyng and findyng of the same, was employed and spent by the kyng of Portyngale and his progenitors, by whych travaill we have wonne straung landes, wherby all Christendome is greatly enriched with Juels, stones, and perles and other straung commodities. How can it then be thought just or righteous that any other persone should take from us that commoditie that we have so derely bought? Yet most puissant lorde and mightie Emperor, your subjectes daily travaill thither and wrong fully take away our gayne, whiche never labored nor toke pain for the findyng or serching of the same, wherfore of justice you muste commaunde your subjectes not alonely to leve their trade thitherwarde, but also to make to us Portyngales a sufficient recompence for the harmes that we have susteined.

The proposicion of a Portingale.

When the Ambassador had sayed, after a lytle deliberacion the Emperor answered. The very povertie of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selfes you be not able to live, wherfore of necessitie you were driven to seke livyng, for landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lordes you were not able to conquere. Wherfore on the sea you were compelled to seke that whiche was not found: And wher you say that you have found landes, I say those landes found you by shipwrekes of the sea beyng cast thereon before you thought of any such ground, and so sought farther for succours in necessitie, yet they say not that you have them wonne, but they have wonne you. And where you would that our subjectes should not repare thither, we ascertaine you that no man shal prohibite our subjectes to saile where they lyst for their avauntage. For our subjectes may be warned no place by them with whom I have peace and amitie: for he is mine enemy and no frend that letteth my libertie: Well sayd the ambassador, and we wil let your subjectes to passe thither. Nay sayd the Emperor, we wil not trye so farre for I am able to disturbe your doynges nerer hande. But for a suertie you Portyngales be enemies to all Christendome, for to the Indyans you cary

The Emperors answer.

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cary nothyng but coyne, whiche is hurt to all countreys, wherefore at this time you may depart, till you be better advysed. After this answere geven to the Portyngales, they offered great summes of money to the Emperor to leave hys trade into the Indyans, but he therto in nowyse woulde agree.

END OF THE XV. YEAR.

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